THEORETICAL AND DISCUSSION JOURNAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

MARXISM TODAY

Two shillings and sixpence

Higher Education in Capitalist Society.

September 1970

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MARXISM TODAY

THEORETICAL AND DISCUSSION JOURNAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Volume 14 Number 9

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Editorial Correspondence James Klugmann, 16 King Street, WC2

Advertisements Doris Allison, above address

Orders and Subscriptions Usual agents or Central Books Ltd., 37 Gray's Inn Road, London, WC1

Subscription rates Six issues 17s 6d Twelve issues 35s

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Editorial Comments

"LAW AND ORDER" was a central slogan of the Tory election campaign. And the Tory Government makes it quite clear that, in a great variety of ways, it is preparing to attack long-established democratic rights, including the rights of trade unions.

It is quite apparent *whose* law and *whose* order, the "law and order" of what class, it is out to protect.

One of the greatest crimes of reformism and pragmatism within the working class movement has been the rejection of the conception of classes, and (both in theory and practice) the class struggle. For right-wing labour the State is something neutral, and the Law (with a capital L) is, in the main, accepted as something almost sacred, solemn, unbiased and impartial, worthy of the respect of all.

Over the centuries, working people, in the course of harsh experience and bitter struggle, have been shown the hard way that, as many of them would put it, there is one law for the rich and another for the poor.

But it is one thing to *feel* this as a result of experience, it is another to *understand* its intricate working.

It is yet another, and very very rare, for a lawyer, deeply versed in the devious complexities of the English legal system, to come to this fundamentally class approach.

LAW AND CLASS SOCIETY

We are therefore deeply glad that D. N. Pritt, after sixty years studying the law and applying it, in the course of which he has justly won international fame as an advocate, is now in the process of working out and setting down his conclusions on English law "as seen through the eyes of a Marxist Socialist". Indeed it is very revealing that it was his experience as a lawyer and deep involvement in the operation of English law that helped him become a Marxist.

His work in progress will eventually be completed in four or so volumes under the general title "Law, Class and Society".

The first volume, which has just been published,[1] contains a fascinating analysis of the development of law applying to trade unions and to the relations of workers and employers. The second will treat the Apparatus of the Law—sources of the law, judges, lawyers, jurors, the action and operation of the law, its procedures, and this is now at the printers.

Other volumes will deal with the Law of Property—Personal Relations, Contract and Tort, the law in its political aspects, and as it is (or rather, in the main, as it used to be) applied in Colonial Territories.

In this first volume he is concerned with the law as it has affected workers, employers and trade unions, from the law of "Master and Servant" in the fourteenth century right up to the White Paper "In Place of Strife".

It is a hard, harsh story that he tells—the Ordinance of Labourers of 1349, the Anti-Combination Laws, the Tolpuddle Martyrs, the prolonged (and continued) struggle on the laws of picketing, Taff Vale, the Osborne Case, the Munitions of War Act of 1915, the Emergency Powers Act of 1920, the Trade Disputes and Trades Unions Act of 1927, the Bonsor Case, Rooks v Barnard, Morgan v Fry, right up to the Prices and Incomes Act of recent years.

He tells the story brilliantly with one experienced eye on the intricacies of the law and the other on the continuous conflict of classes. The wealth of material that it contains illustrates one of his principal themes:

> "that the actual content of our law is determined from time to time and at all times by our ruling class, and thus becomes an integral and very important weapon of that class . . . with the majority of the people, whom it controls or seeks to control in its own interest. It is a good illustration and justification of the Marxist assertion that the law is one of the weapons of the ruling class in the class struggle."

A LONG SERIES OF BATTLES

D. N. Pritt shows how, in the course of English history (*English* because Scottish law has a separate history), the law has served the rulers, and yet how, at the same time, the struggle of the working people within capitalism *can* to a degree modify the law. Big struggles have led to changes in the law that benefit the people, though such changes are never, within capitalism,

[1] D. N. Pritt—"Law, Class and Society", Book One, "Employers, Workers and Trade Unions", Lawrence & Wishart, 40s.

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permanent. They have to be fought and re-fought, won and re-won, again and again. And, despite all gains, in capitalist society law will remain fundamentally weighted against the working class.

The story of the law concerned with the relations of employers and workers, D. N. Pritt explains:

> "presents itself as a long series of battles in which the employer, whenever he finds himself unable to hold down the worker by the strength of his own position, including the influence of the supply and demand of labour, has appealed, at first never and later seldom in vain, to the courts to interpret and apply the law in his favour . . ."

But, as he so wisely adds, it is not sufficient merely to say that "law is one of the weapons of the ruling class in the class struggle . . ."

But *now*, today, within the class society of capitalism, *before* a new socialist system of society is achieved, the struggle must continue and will have its effect on the law:

> "It is more accurate, perhaps, at the present stage of our history, to say that the law is determined not just by the ruling class but rather by the results, varying from time to time as the struggle sways to and fro, of the conflict between the ruling class and the forces—especially the working class forces—opposed to it . . ."

Never was this thought more true and relevant than it is today under a Tory Government preparing fresh attacks on the Trade Unions, seeking to strengthen *its* law and to preserve *its* (capitalist) order.

ARREST OF CAIO PRADO Jnr.

The International Department of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party has made the following appeal:

"We feel impelled to write to you with the aim of exposing another iniquitous act committed in our country.

"Caio Prado Jnr., a Brazilian intellectual of great prestige both here and abroad, has just been sentenced by a Tribunal of the dictatorship to four and a half years' imprisonment, under the general and inconsistent accusation of 'subversion'. This is the pretext used by the Tribunal in the service of the Brazilian 'gorillas' to sentence still more patriots and democrats.

"Caido Prado Jnr., graduated from the Faculty of Law in Sao Paulo, the city in which, until recently, he led one of the largest publishing houses in the country. Its basic activity was the study of socio-economic and philosophical problems, particularly those of Brazil.

"In 1943 he published his first work, *An Attempt at a Materialist Interpretation of the History of Brazil*, which attracted much attention for its seriousness and originality.

"In 1935 he was president of the National Liberation Alliance, a patriotic and democratic movement which also dedicated itself to the fight against ascendent fascism in Brazil. This earned him two years in prison.

"Continuing his activity of investigation and study, Caio Prado in 1943 published his major work, *Formation of Present-day Brazil,* followed in 1945 by *Economic History of Brazil.* With these two publications he became definitely consolidated in his prestige as economist, philosopher and profound understander of Brazilian reality. Both books were translated into various languages, including English, Spanish and Russian.

"In 1945, Caio Prado gained a big vote and became a Deputy to the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sao Paulo as a member of the Communist Party and was noted for his activities in defence of peoples' causes. He also made a noteworthy contribution to the elaboration of the new Constitution of the State.

"Public life and his duties as a publisher did not prevent him from studying. In 1952 he published his history of philosophy, *Dialectics of Knowledge,* a work which is now in its 5th edition. Shortly afterwards came his *Logic of the Dialectic.*

"In thus displaying his fecund dynamism, Caio did not forget his legal training. In 1955, in fierce competition and defeating *macista* opposition, he won the Chair of Political Economy in the Faculty of Law in Sao Paulo and the title of Libre Docente.

"In 1943 with the famous Brazilian writer Monteiro Lobato, he founded the Brazilian Publishing House which was soon distinguished for the publication of works of merit, many of them of a progressive character, which made a remarkable contribution to the strengthening of the culture of the Brazilian people.

"In September 1955 Caio began the publication of the *Brazilian Review,* a nationalist opposition magazine, and worked on it until 1964 (when its publication was interrupted) with a galaxy of the best national authors.

"After the military coup which implanted the fascist-style dictatorship, Caio Prado wrote his most recent work, *Brazilian Revolution,* the target of great debates in student and intellectual circles.

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"Here, in summary, are some of the features of the man sentenced by the Tribunals of the dictatorship (who take great care to persecute the finest expressions of our culture) to four and a half years' imprisonment, contrary to Law and Justice, for the crime of being an intellectual who will not renounce his love of freedom, the cause of the people and his Fatherland.

"In bringing to your notice this iniquity of the dictatorship, headed by General Garrastazu Medici, we appeal to the intellectual and student circles of your country, urging their broad and vigorous solidarity with the aim of creating everywhere a movement of public opinion capable of freeing Caio Prado Jnr. from the dungeons where he is imprisoned.

For this further aid to the cause of our people we send you, dear comrades, our grateful thanks and fraternal greetings."

We would urgently ask our readers to make every effort to respond to this appeal in the most effective way that they can.

WOMEN IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

We have just received a copy of a booklet (in English)—"Woman—a Personality in Her Own Right".[2] Published by the German Democratic Federation, it contains articles taken in the main from the magazine "Fur Dich" of which 800,000 copies are sold weekly; and whose Editorial Board receives each week around 1,000 readers' letters.

It contains some interesting information on the changing position of women in the GDR.

It quotes Article 38 (1) of the GDR Constitution:

> "Marriage, family and motherhood are under the special protection of the State. Every citizen of the German Democratic Republic has the right to respect for, and protection of their marriage and family".

and the Labour Code, para. 123 (2):

> "The organs of State power and the enterprise managers must provide all the prerequisites for women to participate in the labour process, to develop their creative abilities, and at the same time, to do full justice to their high social function as mothers".

Figures show the steady expansion of a network of creches and kindergartens. The right of women to education is buttressed by social services which help with the family, with the result that the percentage of full-time students who are women has risen from 29.8 per cent in 1963 to 38 per cent in 1968 and continues to rise. The percentage of women working in the field of science (as lecturers and professors) at the Humboldt University, Berlin, has risen from 27.1 per cent in 1960 to 31.8 per cent in 1968. In recent years as many women as men have taken degrees in the social sciences at the Humboldt University.

Every third or fourth deputy in local and national Government is today a woman. In teaching women comprise 56 per cent of the profession and are Heads in one quarter of the schools. One third of the judges in the GDR today are women.

No-one in the GDR would claim that this process of the changing position of women can now end, but most important is the speed at which the change is taking place and the progressive direction of the change.

Problems of course still exist. A very interesting aspect of these developments is the attitude of women in leading positions to the men in their society.

"If the women are to have equal rights inside and outside the home", said Frau Inge Lange, Head of the Women's Department of the Socialist Unity Party, in a recent interview:

> "it follows that the men have to give up something of their privileged position. We have to win them to an understanding that this is no sacrifice, but something that will be to everybody's advantage. We have to win the men to work for our equality with us".

VOLUME 44

The English edition of Lenin's *Collected Works* is coming towards completion with the publication of Volume 44.[3] This is a collection of over 700 items, written, spoken, or dictated between October 1917 and November 1920. It includes letters, notes, telegraph messages to the front, instructions, drafts, many in his capacity of Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

Most of these have never before been available in English. They come from Volumes 50-51 of the 5th Russian edition of Lenin's *Collected Works,* whilst the English edition has in the main been based on the earlier, fourth, edition. With the supplementary volumes now in course of publica-

[2] "Woman—a Personality in Her Own Right", published by *Verlag Zeit Im Bild*, Julian-Grimau-Allee, 801 Dresden, GDR.

[3] V. I. Lenin—*Collected Works*, Volume 44. Lawrence & Wishart, 18s.

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tion, we shall eventually have in English all that was included in both the fourth and fifth Russian editions.

This volume contains most valuable material on Lenin's contact with the front, with the military struggle against the interventionist armies and the armies of counter-revolution. It is a mine of information on his approaches to foreign policy, his role in the difficult struggle for food, his care for scientists and artists, and for people in general, his constant war on bureaucracy, his work to form a collective leadership in the young Soviet state in its most difficult early days.

It also gives all sorts of diverse insights into Lenin's method of work and character, which help us to build up a more complete and personal picture of him as a man.

NEW LIGHT ON LENIN

Lenin was a trade unionist himself. "Please enrol me as a member of the Soviet Journalists Trade Union", he writes at the end of October, 1918. (Document 194).

He could look at life with satire and self-criticism, tinged with warmth. He telephones a message of greeting on January 1st, 1919 to the Commissariat for Internal Affairs (234):

> "Greetings and New Year Salutations to the Communist group. With all my heart I wish that in the new year we shall all commit fewer stupidities than in the old and that the building up of Soviet power, to which the comrades of the Commissariat for Internal Affairs in particular are devoting their labours, will be carried to a successful conclusion".

He totally rejected any cult of his personality. A member of the staff of the Tsaritsyn Housing Department was arrested for daubing a portrait of Lenin. He telegraphs to the Chairman of the Tsaritsyn Extraordinary Commission (275):

> "You cannot arrest people for disfiguring a portrait. Free Valentina Pershikova at once, and if she is a counter-revolutionary, keep an eye on her".

He rejected, too, special favours or personal privileges of any sort. He returns a bill for 1,417 roubles for a suit, boots, belt and braces to the Moscow Commission which had supplied them, with these words (393):

> "I am forwarding herewith 2,000 roubles, and request—and categorically demand—that this bill be amended as it is obviously undercharged".

There are fascinating notes on the margin of a letter from Chicherin with Lenin's points on the nature of State Capitalism (434):

When Dan and Martov, two famous Mensheviks, were elected in February-March, 1920, to the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies (Communists won 84 per cent of the seats, Communist sympathisers 4 per cent, and Mensheviks 3 per cent), Lenin wrote to Kamenev (539):

> I think you should 'wear them out' with practical assignments:
> Dan—Sanitary inspection.
> Martov—Control over dining rooms."

There are a whole number of items in which Lenin is desperately appealing for material on the contemporary struggles of the international working class movement including the movement in Britain (e.g. 580, 640). The width of his reading is extraordinary.

He takes a firm and principled stand against chauvinism. When reactionary Polish armies are attacking the Soviet state, he writes to the Secretariat of the Central Committee (584):

> "I propose a directive that all articles about Poland and the Polish war be vetted by *editors*-in-chief on their *personal* responsibility. We must not overdo it, i.e. not descend to chauvinism, always draw a line between the Polish landowners and capitalists and the Polish workers and peasants".

These are but a tiny few of the many items in this volume that throw new light on Lenin as theoretician, active revolutionary and man.

We should be very grateful to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the CPSU which prepared the extensive notes without which much of the text could not be appreciated, and for the first class translation by Clemens Dutt.

SECOND COMMUNIST UNIVERSITY

The absence of a sociology group functioning in the Communist Party has been a conspicuous weakness for some time. However the gap is likely to be filled in the near future, as a result of the second "Communist University of London".

This event, involving 235 students and 61 lecturers, during nine days in July, incorporated a series of courses for students and others specialising in literature, art and design, philosophy, education, history, science and technology, economics, and sociology.

In each of these courses the participants ended by making plans for continuous

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activity up to the third "Communist University of London" in July 1971. These plans included, in various groups, a conference, several new regularly meeting groups, a magazine, and preparation of bibliographies, as well as more rigorous programmes and preparations for the next Communist University.

This development is full of promise, and the organisers see the various specialised courses as developing into annual conventions of students and graduates in these fields, giving them unparalleled opportunities to compare results and conclusions and initiate further, possibly collective, original work, on a Marxist basis.

For the students it offers a logistic base for contesting the various ideas in the service of monopoly capitalism which they may meet in their lectures, seminars, tutorials and other discussions.

The scientists at the Communist University felt this most acutely as there has of late been some difference about the place of Marxist theory in relation to the physical sciences and their application. They were most insistent on having an expanded programme next year, dealing both with the philosophical questions of scientific enquiry and the impact of science on society.

As well as participating in courses in their own subject, the students were able in the evening to choose between such courses as "Class Struggle in Britain", "National Liberation" and "Introduction to Marxism". This last attracted a large proportion of the non-communist participants, who in turn were about two-fifths of the total.

"NEW MASSES"

"The Thirties", a phrase which brings nostalgia to those now becoming elderly, who lived through those embattled years, and often silence, derision, distortion on the part of writers of the Establishment!

What were they like? What really happened? Was it really blissful in that dawn to be alive?

The specific way the major issues exploded were certainly different from those of today. But they have a basic similarity. Then it was Spain, the fight against Hitler fascism, the fight for jobs in all the major capitalist countries in the world. Today it is Vietnam, the world fight for independence of peoples from imperialism, and, especially in the US, the fight for Negro liberation. For the battles fought in the "thirties" have still to be won in a great part of the world.

The story of what the "thirties" looked like or meant in Britain has still to be told. But a most splendid, rich and stimulating account is now available of what it looked like in the USA through the pages of *New Masses*, the famous progressive socialist literary weekly, which both mirrored the struggles and helped to develop them further.[4]

The anthology is divided into five main parts—poetry, short stories and sketches, reportage, the writer and society, essays and comment.

Through them all—as much in the poems as in the magnificent reportage, in the short stories as well as in the deeper and more complex writing in the section on the Writer and Society, Essays and Comment, and in the appendix containing statements calling for congresses of both American writers and artists, we get a picture of the impact of the "thirties" on the USA. We feel the agony of a society shaken to its core, the upsurge of burning criticism against a brutal and outworn system, the call for a new, more human one, all expressed in poetry, prose, reportage, and most powerfully, in the magnificent cartoons of the especially talented group of artists who worked for *New Masses* in this period—Robert Minor, Fred Ellis, Bill Gropper, Art Young, Hugo Gellert, and many others.

Many of the great names of American literature and poetry—Richard Wright, Alfred Hayes, Langston Hughes, Albert Malz, Thomas Wolfe, Alvah Bessie, Erskine Caldwell, John Dos Passos, Dorothy Parker, Joseph North, Ernest Hemingway, Jack Conroy, Michael Gold, Theodore Dreiser, etc., as well as European writers of world class like Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, F. Garcia Lorca, contributed to *New Masses* and are represented in this anthology.

The breadth of view and political opinions represented in this list tells its own story of the impact of the crisis of capitalism on the USA in the "thirties".

Again and again writers of the most diverse views write about the mad injustice of US capitalist society, of the obscene horrors of the oppression of the Negro people. But even more they write about Spain. The Spanish Civil War became the touchstone for all honest and progressive people everywhere. In defence of the Spanish

[4] *New Masses: An Anthology of the Rebel Thirties*, edited with a Prologue by Joseph North. International Publishers, New York. Available in England from Central Books Ltd. 32s.

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Republic some of the finest deeds of our time were performed. And in defence of the Spanish Republic, as so many splendid pieces in this anthology show, the best American intellectuals, writers, poets, artists, as well as workers, students, farmers, rallied.

The writers, what they wrote, the ideas about art, literature and society about which they argued, became the seeds from which there have sprouted the splendid movement of struggle of the Negro people and the young people and students against the barbarous war in Vietnam, and for a new, free society in the US. All these were assisted by the consistent battle waged in the columns of *New Masses,* by the core of Communist writers and intellectuals who never wavered, either in good times or especially in the bad times, which overtook progressive causes in the US.

"The Thirties" writes the editor, Joseph North in his prologue, "began with the cold hell of hunger, unparalleled assault of starvation, then it passed into a time of unparalleled counter-attack". This anthology most aptly describes both processes as they developed and is, as a consequence, most rewarding reading.

POEM ON POVERTY

We appealed in last October's issue for the texts of political songs and poems which had played a role at different periods of Britain's radical, trade union and socialist movement.

A reader from Kirkcaldy, Fifeshire, sends us the following "Poem on Poverty" which he remembers from before the first World War, possibly when he was attending the local Socialist Sunday School:

POVERTY

The prohibitionists say I think,
All poverty is due to drink.
Suppress the drink trade, then I'm sure
We won't be troubled with the poor!

The parson whispered yes, but there's
A mint of wealth, in Brewery shares,
Just let the people trust in Jesus,
And all those sins, they soon shall
leave us!

The Tory cried that's hardly right,
I'm sure I can convince you quite,
Such evils on this earth are made,
Because we will stick to Free Trade!

The Liberal laughed the three to scorn,
Quoth he what we want is social reform,
And on the lines we legislate,
We'll soon the poor eliminate!

The Fabian listened and looked wise,
Said he you make my anger rise,
Wait till we get our 'servile state',
Where experts all things regulate!

There then arose fierce argument,
Each wished to be the government,
Each swore his scheme alone was sound,
While flaws in all the rest he found!

The workers cried those blasted quacks,
Live all of them upon our backs,
And with an awe inspiring yell,
They kicked the whole damn lot to Hell!

Our reader is not sure whether the above is the "authorised" version. Other versions will be welcome, and other songs and poems too.

ON THE INDEX

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Higher Education in Capitalist Society

Phil Goodwin

The author has had experience of student, research and teaching sides of higher and further education, in departments of economics and engineering. He is a member of the Steering Committee of the National Union of Students, and a past member of the National Student Committee of the Communist Party.

> "*Students should be regarded as doing a job equivalent to other sections of youth*".
> *Statement of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party.*

Higher education in this country is part of class society. It reflects that society, serving the class interests, in different ways, of each of the contending classes. And the society itself dominates and shapes its structure, aims and content.

An understanding of what post-school education is all about, what *in precise terms* it means to capitalism, is necessary in order to evaluate our political strategy for those passing through it—we need to know where they come from, and where they are going—and in order to test the policies we put forward for its development.

What this article attempts is an examination of the two major activities of the higher education system—teaching students and conducting research—to see how each fits into capitalism.

The Subjects Studied by Students

In Autumn 1967 there were a total of 536,425[1] full time and sandwich course students taking courses leading to recognised qualifications at Universities, Colleges of Education, and other grant-aided establishments of Further Education. This figure—rather more than half a million students in Great Britain, is higher than the figure usually bandied around for the "number of students"; the reasons for this are that often all the students in Scotland are missed out (because Scottish educational statistics are published seperately), and also because the many thousands of students studying in Further Education colleges are often omitted.

The chart on p. 264 shows how overwhelmingly students are studying courses with a direct or indirect vocational basis—clearly related to the carrying on of some job or other in society. The *nature* of these jobs varies enormously, and this is discussed below. But nevertheless, it is clear that the largest groups of students are those studying to be teachers, (21 per cent of the total), engineers and technologists (19 per cent of the total) scientists (12 per cent) and doctors (5 per cent). In addition there are some other groups of subjects that require some explanation. "Business and Administration" covers some trainee managers and so on—but it also covers secretarial courses; 'commerce' which is largely training for secretaries and the like, law, and training for local government. In other words this general group (7.5 per cent of all students) is almost completely related to particular occupations and—more important—the type of occupation is not necessarily management-training, which the title perhaps implies. Many of the students passing through these courses will be further from the ruling class than say a section of specialist doctors.

Another group which needs explaining is the "Professional and Vocational" group. This is a bit misleading, since in fact many of the other groups could be described in this way. The group includes architects, librarians, caterers and similar categories; more than most, these courses are not just *generally* related to a particular job, but are virtual apprenticeships, devoted almost completely to a particular profession.

Thus it is clear, as a matter of fact of the present situation, that a large majority of students are studying courses where a large part of the content matter (and sometimes almost all) consists of the training in techniques, acquiring of a body of knowledge and skills, which will subsequently be used either for the production of profit as skilled labour power, or for employment by the state as teachers, doctors and so on. A small number (remarkably small, in fact) are studying subjects which will be used directly by the ruling class as top managers and administrators.

[1]. Figures in this section from *Statistics of Education* 1967 (England & Wales) Vols. 3, 4, & 6, and *Statistics of Education* (Scotland). H.M.S.O.

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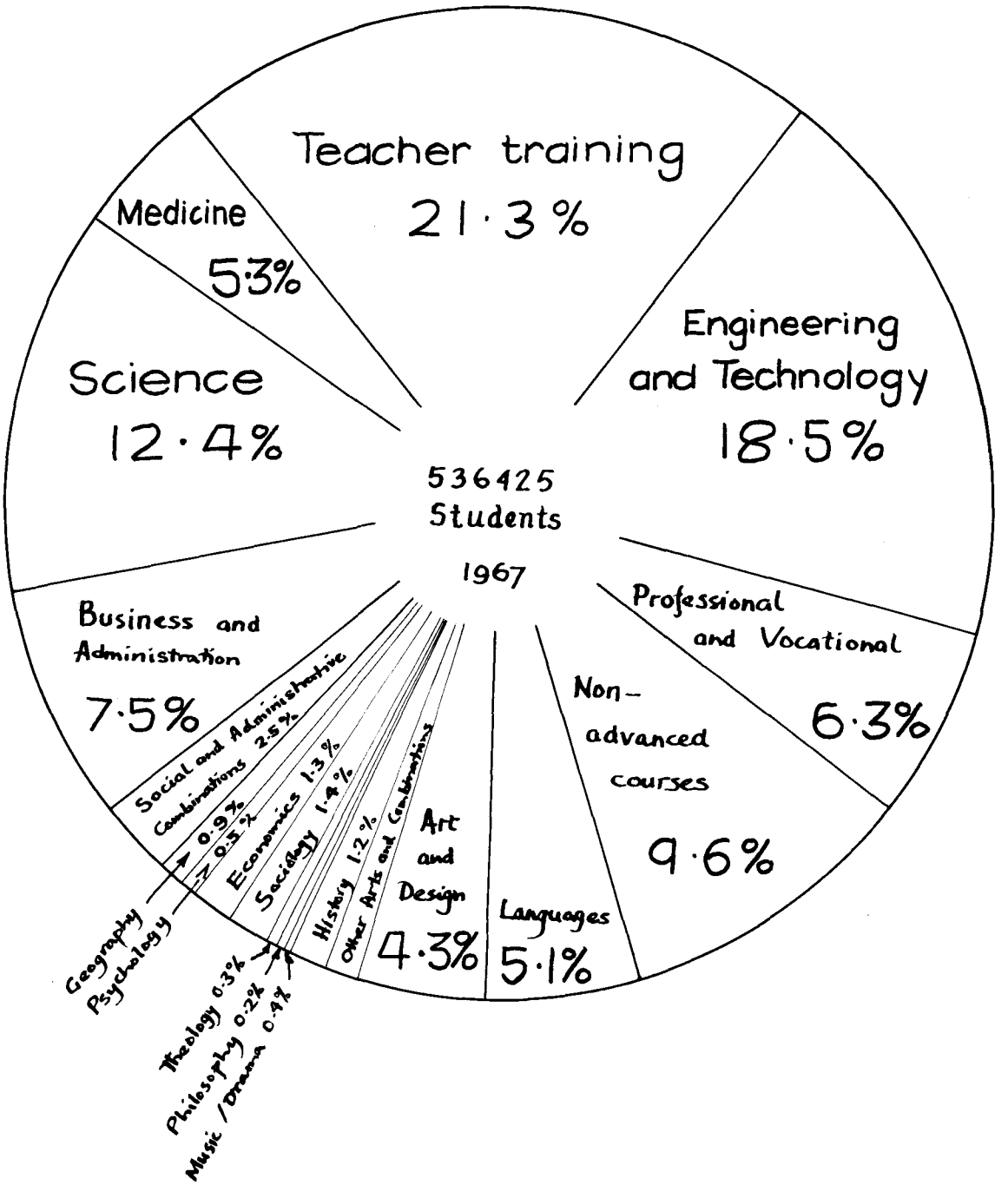

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By comparison, the numbers of students studying what at first sight seem to be "non-vocational" courses is very small indeed—and even here one must be very careful indeed about how these courses are described, since many of these are studying courses which in fact, if not in theory, are vocational.

Thus economists number 1.3 per cent of all students, historians 1.2 per cent. Students of art and design are 4.3 per cent—and the overwhelming majority of these are in fact doing courses which will equip them to become industrial designers, employees in graphics and layout and advertising, clothes designers and the like, if they stay in the field at all. Sociologists number 1.4 per cent of all students, if social anthropologists are also included. Philosophers are 0.2 of a per cent, and those studying theology are slightly higher at 0.3 of a per cent.

These proportions seem to give a much higher weight to science and engineering and teaching, and lower weight to arts and social studies, than is often thought to be the case. Often, of course, *university* statistics are looked at on their own, as if the universities constituted the whole of higher education, and it is true that in the universities the proportions are rather different (though not overwhelmingly so) than the whole picture. The point is that the colleges of education and the technical colleges (which now include a *greater* number of students than the universities) are also the sections which are most strongly science, engineering and teaching based. When this is added to the universities, which also have a fairly strong bias towards these subjects, the total effect is magnified.

It is also of interest that the non-university sector is the fastest growing part of higher education. Even ignoring the non-advanced courses, and only considering the degree-level type of course, the proportion of students in universities compared with the other types of colleges has been falling consistently for over a decade, as shown in Table 1.[2]

TABLE 1: University Students Compared with All Students

Year	Students in the Universities as a percentage of all full time advanced students
1957-8	69
1962-3	60
1963-4	59
1964-5	57
1965-6	56
1966-7	54
1967-8	53

[2] *The Impact of Robbins;* Layard, King & Moser. Penguin Books 1969.

When sandwich course students, and students doing non-advanced courses are added to this, the proportion of students at universities drops to 40 per cent, and if part time students are considered, it drops much lower.

Taking the Universities themselves, the total figure also conceals various changes; for example, there are now as many students in the technological universities (which were previously Colleges of Advanced Technology) as in the Oxford and Cambridge set-up—20,000 in each category for the year 1967-8. London University has 29,000 students, by way of comparison.

Class Origin

Official statistics, not being written in most cases by Marxists, are often difficult and even misleading when it comes to questions of class; they often use different methods of analysis and categories, in addition, which result in some discrepancies in numbers which unfortunately is reflected in some of the statistics quoted below.

At present the most commonly used official categories of class rely on between twenty and thirty different occupational groups, each sub-divided into many sub-groups. These can be then grouped together in a fairly common sense way[3] into four large groups; it can clearly be seen both how 'working class' people, defined in a Marxist way, dominate the population figures, and how these are less adequately represented in the universities:[4]

Manual Workers; 64 per cent of the adult working population—children take up 28 per cent of university places.

Non-Manual Workers; 22 per cent of the population—28 per cent of university places.

Professional Workers; 8 per cent of the population —30 per cent of university places.

Administrators and Managers; 6 per cent of the population—14 per cent of university places.

A University education is much more easily come by for the son or daughter of a manager, or of someone who has himself had a higher education, than of a manual worker. The reasons for this are partly differences in educational opportunity at an earlier age, and partly the economic pressures built into the grants system, but not (in general) anti-working class discrimination at the point of selection to the university.

[3] Not totally common sense; non-manual workers include the armed forces, and for example typists. Professional workers include laboratory assistants. But it is not far wrong to think of manual workers as the traditional sections of the working class, non-manual as office workers, professional as those workers who have had a higher education themselves.

[4] *Statistical Supplement to the Sixth Report 1967-68.* U.C.C.A., 1969.

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Table 2: Facilities[7] in Different Sections of Higher Education:

	Average expenditure per full-time student, per year	Staff-Student Ratio	Expenditure per student on libraries	Students with manual or clerical working class parents as per cent of all students (1961)
Universities	£1,055	1:7	£38	37% (undergraduate)
Colleges of Education	£812	1:10	£4-£8	54%
Polytechnics		1:9	£8	45% (continuous)
Further Education	£319			63% (sandwich)

[7] *The Binary System*, NUS, C. D. 23, April 1970.

It seems as though there has been some improvement in the position since the Robbins Report in 1963 (from 25 per cent to 28 per cent manual working class), although the difference is small and the statistics are not exactly comparable. Even if there is some improvement, it is clear that there is a long way to go before equal opportunity becomes a fact.

It may be, also, that the reason for any improvement is specific and possibly temporary. We know that working class students tend to apply especially to science and technology departments[5], and also that in recent years there has been some "easing of the pressure of places" in these departments (i.e., a greater proportion of the applicants are being accepted). These two factors in combination would allow a greater proportion of working class students to enter universities without any basic change in the education system, and is an insecure base for any permanent improvement.

One of the most commonly made sins of the researcher into higher education is to generalise on the basis of the easily obtainable statistics on universities, forgetting the more elusive figures on the non-university colleges—which now have an overall majority of all students. The much faster growth of the colleges of education and technology has meant that overall there is a considerably greater chance of working class children getting some form or other of higher education.

[5] *Statistical Supplement to the Sixth Report 1967-68*. U.C.C.A., 1969.

Class and the Binary System

It is vitally necessary therefore to get a picture of the whole higher education system, not just the universities.

By the "Binary System" we mean the division of higher education into institutions of different status, specialisations, methods of financing, relationships with the Government and class structure. Briefly, it is a pernicious system whose origin lies in the history of education—universities for the fee-paying wealthy, teacher training colleges as the traditional form of higher education for working class women, technical colleges for vocational training of workers, and, latterly, for the overflow from overcrowded universities.[6]

While this class history still dominates the methods of the institutions, it no longer fully describes any of them.

In two features, however, the effect is still felt. The financial provision for non-university colleges is lower, and the class background of a greater number of their students is working class.

This can be seen by looking at average expenditure per full-time student, staff-student ratios, provision of libraries, and the figures given in the Robbins Report on class make-up (pitifully out of date unfortunately; they refer to 1961-2) in Table 2.

The picture is clear. Universities have (relatively) high expenditure, staff-student ratios, good libraries, and a lower proportion of working class students. Other colleges have lower expenditure and staff-

[6] *The New Polytechnics*, Erik Robinson, Penguin, 1968.

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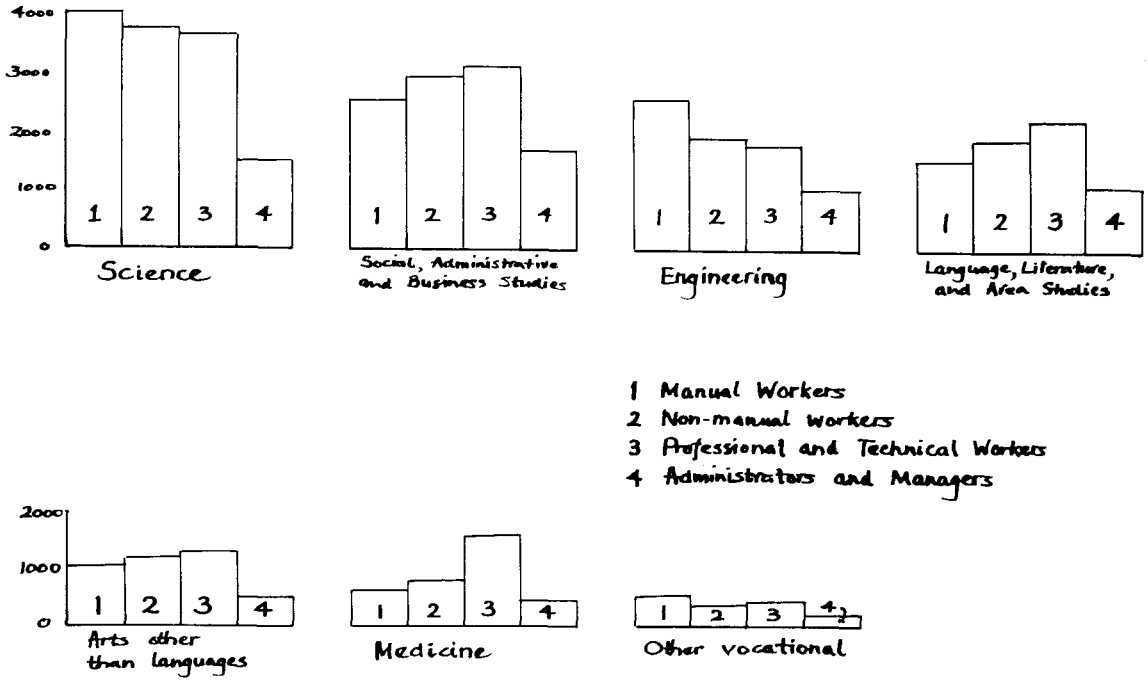
Table 3 : Parents' Occupation of University Students Accepted October 1968



student ratios, worse libraries—and a higher proportion of working class students.

Not surprisingly, the students in non-university colleges are increasingly infuriated by this situation —and in the last few years a classic example of divide-and-rule has been seen in operation, with many of the leading students in techs and colleges of education seeing their enemies not as the Government and local education authorities, but as the rich and privileged universities. Some even have seen the problem in pseudo-class terms—working class colleges versus upper-class universities.

The illusion is now seen through by most of the better leaders in these colleges, but 'small college Poujadism' has been a feature of recent NUS Conferences, for example, in confrontation with the equally insidious (and much more infuriating) "Great University Chauvinism" to which sections of the left are as prone as the right.

It goes without saying that a condition for a united student movement is to overcome both these tendencies. The situation even in the most wealthy universities represents a consistent and uninterrupted erosion since the time when universities had a really privileged position, in line with the class and class future of their inhabitants. It is the rare exception, indeed now, when more than a small minority of students in any college or university are bound for the ruling class.

Social Class and Subjects Studied

Table 3[8] shows what the situation is in each of the main University faculties[9].

In no department is the cross-section of students the same as the cross-section of society; in every case there are a smaller proportion of working class students than there should be.

[8] *Statistical Supplement to the Sixth Report 1967-68* U.C.C.A., 1969.

[9] If non-university colleges are included (exact statistics unobtainable) the science and engineering figures will be much greater; These are the largest faculties in the most working class area of higher education. The other main difference is that, although a very large proportion of the students in the universities will become teachers, this is not reflected in the Table, and inclusion of statistics from the colleges of education will make this category from the smallest to the biggest—as would a re-drawing of the table on the basis of future occupation.

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However, since the sheer *number* of manual and non-manual workers in British society dominates the occupation statistics, in spite of the weighting against their children getting to university, the small proportion who do manage to get there make up a very large proportion of the student population.

It is natural that Marxists, concerned to fight against ideas and features in our society that have hindered the chances of working class children getting a higher education, have tended to concentrate their attention on the most obvious example of this—the low proportion of the total number of working class children who get this chance, compared with other social groups. And a simplified presentation of such a case, combined with memories of a different age, have led to the illusion that, with a few exceptions, working class children just do not get to university. The universities are therefore seen as alien environments, upper-class enclaves with the occasional reticent working class scholar who has forced his way in by sheer brilliance.

This does not accurately describe the situation. More important, such a view prevents a serious study of what happens to working class students when they *do* get there—a matter of some importance, if the fight to get them there is itself worthwhile.

Class background, certainly, seems to influence the choice of subject to be studied.

Thus in engineering and technology (only counting universities) a third of all students are from manual, and another quarter from non-manual, working class backgrounds, and a fifth from professional workers backgrounds. The sons (and some daughters, but not many) of employed workers of one sort or another outnumber the sons and daughters of administrators and managers by six to one. In science subjects the picture is nearly the same—though with slightly more non-manual and slightly less manual working class students.

The field where fewest working class students go is medicine, although here the greatest proportion (41 per cent of the total) are not managers, but those with a professional/technical background (especially the children of doctors). This is partly a question of interest and encouragement, partly because the course for doctor-training, together with the impoverished early years of the young doctor, mean financial sacrifice for a much longer period than for most students. There is also a widespread suspicion, which may be well-founded, that the selection system favours the children of doctors by the operation of an old-boy network.

The fields where there are the greatest proportions of the offspring of managers and administrators, are; social administrative and business studies, and language, literature and area studies. But in both these fields, this still only amounts to 15 per cent of the students in these departments (manual working class students in these departments—23 per cent and 21 per cent respectively).

If (and this is not so at the moment) class struggle in the universities were to follow exactly the major pattern of class struggle in capitalist society, as seen by Marxists,—i.e. employed workers versus the capitalist class and its agents—and if (also not true, and perhaps never will be) students were to follow in the main the true class interests of their parents, we would at present be in a majority of 6 to 1 in the universities. Not quite as overwhelming as the 16 to 1 in the whole of society, but pretty good odds in a fight.

Things do not in practice work out like that, of course. Students often reject the class outlook of their parents—on both sides—just as their parents often reject the class outlook of their class. Some working class kids have all the class-consciousness battered out of them, and are turned into place-seekers, or careerists, or some sort of walking political neurosis of the left or right. On the other hand, some of the sons and daughters of the richest families in the land flirt for a while with the forces of progress—and a few are won permanently and loyally to the side of the working class.

But the effect of all this is that in the universities today—if not in some previous epochs—the working class movement is not aiming its appeal primarily at a group whose instinct and training is hostile, but at a group whose background makes the ideas and actions of class struggle, class war, strife, strike and revolution, potentially *part of their own class experience*. Potentially only, at present—but this is quite a different situation from one in which sheer logic was the only way of winning a few honoured class traitors from the ruling-class, people who, in spite of the fact that they could never have had experience of class struggle (at least from our side), could nevertheless be won by the force of argument. Now the job is far more to enable the *majority* of students to realise their class interests, not the minority to betray[10] them.

Research and the Needs of Industry

"This Year", a Science Research Council Poster on college notice boards announces, "200 SRC Studentships are being made specifically for research on projects drawn up between university departments and industrial firms. The awards will be available in mathematics, physics, chemistry and biological science departments".

A large proportion of the total research carried

[10] This word 'betray' has unpleasant connotations. In this case, I use the word as a factual description of those recruits the working class has from time to time gained from its enemies. They are to be honoured, not scorned, for making such a decision. Changes in society mean however that we rely on them less and less.

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on by staff and postgraduate students in university departments is of this kind—either specific projects designed to answer the technical problems of production in industry, or general research reflecting and focusing on these same problems.

A few examples. [11] [12] At Bradford University there are some 67 research projects in "Textile Technology" (subjects like dying techniques, the strength of yarns, and so on). The Bradford Chemical Technology department maintains a 'liaison' with the major dyestuff and ancillary manufacturers, and with the major trade organisations in the woollen industry (e.g. the International Wool Secretariat).

There are 32 research projects in Fuel Technology at Sheffield University, 16 in Mining Engineering at Newcastle on Tyne University, 41 at the two universities in Birmingham in Production Engineering—a neat and characteristic geographical pattern.

There is an Aeronautical Engineering Department in Bristol University, convenient for the aircraft building industry, and research on metal fatigue (Massey Ferguson), vehicle instrumentation (Rootes and Ford) and tyres (Dunlop) at Warwick University, in the "Mid-Atlantic of the Motor Industry".[13]

In Cambridge University there are many close working relationships between academic departments and their appropriate industries—close connection between the Geodesy and Geophysics department and Shell, BP, IBM and the Ministry of Defence; close contact between the Metallurgy department and the electricity, iron and steel, and aircraft industries; liaison between the Pharmacology department and J. R. Geigy Pharmaceuticals (U.K.) Ltd.; joint research projects undertaken by the Physics department and various industrial firms.

Sometimes the Government itself sponsors this sort of co-operation, with a clear commercial object. "Contracts are awarded to universities and other research organisations for work to be undertaken *in conjunction with* industry on specific projects *of commercial promise*".[14] Thus a £95,000 contract was awarded to Newcastle University to study 'the application of computers to typesetting'.

The Social Science departments also undertake this sort of research—it is by no means confined to the engineering and technical and scientific faculties. Quite apart from the 'industrial relations' type of research which is undertaken, more specifically technical problems of production are investigated. The Social Science Research Council lists[15] among the recent grants paid to economists, sociologists and psychologists, investigations into the following subjects: the economics of aircraft operations (£4839, Birmingham); educational qualities required by mathematicians in industry (£428, Southampton); problems of demand in the mens outerwear industry (£8970, Bradford); statistical forecasting techniques in economics (£13449, Nottingham); prediction of consumer demand (£6240, Sussex). This is not the whole picture, of course, but it is clear that many aspects of the social sciences are concerned, as the physical and engineering sciences, with the development of techniques for solving society's most fundamental problem, production. Which, in a capitalist society, means solving it for profit.

Political attitudes of those objecting to this capitalism-backed, capitalism-oriented research vary, from the extreme liberal shock that such common matters should sully the purity of research, to the fatalistic acceptance that, although unpleasant, money cannot be obtained without it—and back to what might be called a "primitive Marxist" school; "this is only done for profit, therefore it should not be done at all".

It should be made clear that, for most academic departments, the question of objecting simply does not arise. A £15000 contract secured from capitalist industry is considered a victory, an occasion for celebration, not an enforced compromise for the sake of sordid finance.

After all, if production engineering *is* your speciality it is often a much more attractive proposition to you that industry should pay you to work in the more congenial atmosphere of the University than any alternative open to you—such as working in the factory research departments.

What attitude should a Marxist take? The fairly common formulation that this is a "distortion" of the functions of a University, I think, begs the question; it implies that there exist some abstract, eternal "functions" of higher education quite distinct from the class system in which it is placed. This is a liberal idea, not a Marxist one, with its roots in the medieval myth of knowledge 'for its own sake', and given currency in the peculiarly and temporarily privileged positions of Oxford and Cambridge in the period before the rise of monopoly capitalism.

In no sense is it a 'distortion' for education in capitalism to be part of capitalism. To say that higher education should carry on its activities *as if* capitalism did not exist, would be like saying that capitalist industry 'ought not' try and make a profit.

[11] *Scientific Research in British Universities & Colleges, 1968-9*, Vol. 1, D.E.S., HMSO, 1969.

[12] *Industrial Research in Britain*, ed. I. D. L. Ball, Harrap Research Publications,1968.

[13] *The Business University*, E. P. Thompson, *New Society*, 19.2.1970, see also *Warwick University Ltd.*, ed. E. P. Thompson, Penguin Books, 1970.

[14] *Industrial Research in Britain*, ed. I. D. L. Ball, Harrap Research Publications, 1968.

[15] Social Science Research Council, *Newsletter*, March 1970.

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Table 4: Percentage of Graduates Going into School Teaching and Industry

	Schools & Teacher Training			*Industry*		
	Men	%	Women	Men	%	Women
Arts	36		52	9		2
Social Studies	10		26	15		5
Pure Science	14		35	28		17
Applied Science		2			63	

The distortion does not occur at this level at all. The distortion exists in that *capitalist society itself* is no longer in phase with the mode of production it has created. This is a distortion—a necessary and inevitable one—in history, because that is the way history works.

Thus we would never think of advising an engineering worker to refuse to accept the wage—and exploitation—of private industry. It would be equally nonsensical to demand the same of the engineering researcher. *What we do in both cases is to conduct class struggle in order to tip the balance in his favour, and at the expense of capitalism*—not wish capitalism out of existence, but *fight for its end.*

It can be no part of our perspective for higher education within capitalism to think that somehow research into better ways of manufacturing engines, or plastics, or building houses, is 'wrong', by virtue of the fact that it will be used for the purpose of making profit—any more than we condemn the building worker for creating profit for his employers. Nor are we doing the chemist or engineer—or economist or sociologist—any favours if we were to insist that his course should equip him *less* to participate in production. We encourage participation in production—and organise it so that the interests of the worker, manual or professional, are safeguarded and advanced, both economically and politically.

In other words, links between industry and higher education are not just a superficial phenomenon, the froth on the top of 'real' education, to be blown away if a sufficiently strong campaign can be organised. They are deeply embedded—part of the fabric of the universities and colleges, and part of the fabric of capitalism.

But just as capitalism is characterised by the existence of competing classes, so the competition between those classes is reflected in the institutions of capitalism. The question is not "are the links with industry good?", but "what sort of links will serve their interests, what sort of links will serve ours"?. What we need to do is to forge our own links to combat those forged against us. Where a private firm has its research conducted on the cheap in a university, we need to link the student unions and the trade unions, the university staff and the factory staff in ways which will protect the interests of each. The problem is not to remove the colleges from class society—that is impossible—but, given that class struggle affects those inside as much as those outside, how best to organise and unite them.

The Class Future of Students

Where do students go when they have finished their courses? For some groups, the answer is evident—those studying at colleges of education (one in five of all students) in general become teachers.[16] The output of technical colleges go largely to be employed workers in private or nationalised industry.

The same two destinations—teaching in the schools, or working in industry—dominate the employment scene for graduates with university degrees also. This varies from subject to subject (few Arts graduates go into industry; correspondingly far more go into school teaching).

Thus the percentage of all graduates (university only) in each subject going into school teaching or industry in 1966 is shown in Table 4.[17]

In addition, between a fifth and a third of graduates in each field continue their studies in the form of research for higher degrees. This is not, in most cases, a permanent occupation—teaching or industry again claim many after their three years or so delay. Some of those remaining eventually manage to obtain salaried positions in universities and colleges, as lecturers or research workers.

Where else? "Public Service" claims 6 per cent of Arts graduates and Applied Science graduates

[16] Often, even, if they do not want to. The teachers' qualification is not recognised for other employment.

[17] First Employment of University Graduates 1966, University Grants Committee.

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(but 17 per cent of female social science graduates). This means, in general, the local authorities and the hospital services, making up over half the total. Rather less go to the Home Civil Service, including the scientific civil service, the Medical Research Council, Libraries and Art Galleries.

It is striking that only an infinitesimal proportion reach the highest levels of the Civil Service, or the diplomatic Service—although when there, of course, they make up almost the total staffing at those levels. A minute number go into the armed forces. And an even smaller number become spies of various kinds, especially from one or two colleges in Oxford and London.

In 1961, of 290,000 people with scientific and technological qualifications in Great Britain, about three quarters were employed in productive industry, services and public administration. Since then, the number has gone up enormously and the proportions probably. About 36,000 of the total were "Administrators and Managers", that is 12 per cent.[18]

Which Industries? What Jobs?

"Industry" of course means nothing—a managing director is 'in industry' and so is a lathe-worker, or a tea-boy.

As might be expected, the technologically advanced industries have greater numbers of ex-students—the Engineering and Allied Industries sector employs more graduates (in Engineering, Science, Social Studies *and* Arts) than any other, followed by Chemicals, and then other manufacturing industry.

In the advanced industries also there is a greater proportion of the staff employed on *Research and Development*, compared with other sorts of jobs that graduates do.[19] Thus slightly over one third of all qualified scientists and engineers in manufacturing industries and Government in 1965, were employed on Research and Development (the rest were mainly employed on manufacture, production, maintenance, design and management). But in the electrical industry over half the scientists and engineers were in Research and Development, with Vehicles and Chemical industries nearly as high.

It is interesting also that the larger the firm, the more of its scientists and engineers are working on research—one third in firms of under 100 employees; over a half in firms of over 500.

From a study of the information given by 96 leading companies and corporations employing graduates it is possible to give more detail on the type of employment, status and specific firms that graduates work for.[20]

The following list consists of companies and corporations who expected to have over 200 vacancies for graduates in 1970—that is new employment for new graduates; this does not represent the total number of graduates employed. The list reads like a roll call of monopoly capitalism.

British Aircraft Corporation	200
British Leyland Motor Corporation	200
British Steel Corporation	400
Courtaulds	200
IBM	200
ICI	500
Plessey	250
Post Office	250
Rolls Royce	300
Shell	200

And other major employers—each expecting to hire 100 or more new graduates are: Beecham Group; BBC (120 in engineering, 50 others) British Petroleum; British Rail; Central Electricity Generating Board; Dunlop; Ford Motor Company; Glaxo; Greater London Council; Hawker Siddeley Aviation; Machine Tools Trades Association; Medical Research Council; National Coal Board; Price Waterhouse; Rank Organisation; Standard Telephones and Cables; Tube Investments; George Wimpy.

The growth in union organisation and militancy of this section of the working class has been often noted and described elsewhere. What is clear, is that where capitalism employs workers, in thousands or hundreds of thousands, there also are employed those whose skills have been acquired at universities or colleges rather than through apprenticeships or length of experience. And for very similar reasons.

What sort of Job?

There are graduates also who are employed as managers, and some acquire or inherit large shareholdings and become capitalists in every sense of the word. But the most widespread type of job in fact offered to graduates by these companies are research and development and production, with rather fewer in marketing, sales and finance, and a few in personnel. In other words, even where graduates do undertake managerial functions, it is often at the lower and middle levels, performing those functions which socialism and capitalism alike must perform (though with different criteria of success); employed on a wage, and assisting in the production of surplus value. Their relationship with the means of production is more often that of worker than of owner.

[18] Census 1961, Education Tables, HMSO, 1966.

[19] *Industrial Research in Britain*, Ed. I. D. L. Ball. Harrap Research Publications 1968.

[20] *Beyond a Degree*, Vol. III, 1969-70, Careers Research & Advisory Centre. Also *Directory of Opportunities for Graduates*. Cornmarket Press 1970.

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Table 5: Educational Background of Different Occupations, 1961

A Occupation	B Number of Working Adults	C Number of Working Adults with Full Time Education to Age 20 or Over	D Proportion of the Occupation with Further/Higher Education (i.e. "C" as a % of "B")
Employers & Managers			
large establishments	691,000	89,000	13%
small establishments	1,180,000	47,000	4%
Professional Workers			
employed	519,000	150,000	30%
self-employed	134,000	81,000	60%
Manual Workers			
skilled	5,064,000	23,600	less than 1%
semi-skilled	3,600,000	12,500	
unskilled	1,900,000	4,110	
Non-Manual Workers			
intermediate	1,338,470	443,550	33%
junior	4,710,870	63,160	1%

One last point in this subject—pay. The 96 leading bodies mentioned above offer a starting salary to graduates ranging from a miserable £770 a year (for some grades in the civil service—I have no idea what they get) to a maximum of around £2400 a year for those with very special and highly productive skills in for example mining engineering. The "standard rate" offered for the majority however is at about the £1150 a year level, or about £22 a week before deductions, i.e. take home pay of say £16-£17 a week. Many young teachers get even less. At the age of 21, with a degree or equivalent qualifications, this means that the young graduate is on a very similar rate of pay to the average other young worker of his age in industry.

From the point of view of his class future as well as his family background, therefore, the student is in general in that relationship with monopoly capitalism—wage-labour—that the Marxist analysis sees as being the basis for a revolutionary movement. He will be *dependent* on capitalism for a job (sections who are independent of capitalism, whatever that may mean, can have no interest in destroying it). At the same time, he will be *exploited* by it. Thus with no future in capitalism but to be exploited, except for those few who will themselves become exploiters, the objective position of the skilled-labourer-in-training is that he is less and less able to opt out, or seek solution in the ranks of the modern peasantry, the self-employed.

Higher Education and the Professions

So far we have looked at students, to see where they have come from and where they are going.

The same process however has another side, which throws light on a rather different problem—taking various different groups of the population, how many of them owe their position to some form of higher education?

The statistics here are a little out of date—mainly from the 1961 Census.[21] [22] But the position is pretty much as one would expect—except for a few surprises.

As Table 5 shows, at the time of the 1961 Census over one million people had continued full-time education till the age of 20 or more (the statistics do not actually reveal what level of education this represents for each group, but we can take it to include nearly all those people having a higher or further education). As expected, very many of the people then working as professional workers had had this level of education. What is surprising is that so many of the managers had *not* had this level of education. Even in the big establishments, (the large factories, industrial and commercial and central and local Government bodies) only one in eight had had a formal further or higher education.

[21] Census 1961, Education Tables, HMSO 1966.

[22] Census 1961, Scientific & Technical Qualifications, HMSO 1962.

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And in the small establishments it was only one in twenty-five.

It is interesting also to speculate on the 12,500 semi-skilled manual workers whose formal education had continued until they were over 20, and the more than 4,000 unskilled manual workers in the same grade.

Breaking down the "classes" into occupational groups, some other interesting facts emerge. Virtually all doctors, university lecturers etc. were educated to over 20 years old, as expected. But nearly 30 per cent of teachers had finished full time education before the age of 20 (and up to 20 per cent before the age of 17).

Even more interesting, only 20-30 per cent of "authors, journalists and related workers" had continued in education to the age of 20 or over, and under 15 per cent of "painters, sculptors and related creative artists".

Perhaps it is wrong to be suprised at this—perhaps, indeed, the suprise itself is an illustration of how easily illusions are fostered about formal education and its relationship with artistic creativity, or, for that matter, managerial responsibility. One can only guess at the reasons; presumably studios, newspapers and the media form the main training ground for writers and artists, and family businesses, inherited wealth and firms' internal training schemes the main way of training managers.

The fact remains that the vast majority of managers, on the one hand, and creative artists on the other, just do not get their training in academic institutions. I am unable to attempt an estimate, at present, of whether capitalism or the movement against it is assisted or hindered by these two features.

Since 1961, the figures have presumably increased; the general expansion of higher education, which has increased the proportions of people in *all* occupations with an education lasting to the age of 20 or more, will have affected these groups also.

Higher Education, Ideology and 'The Intellectuals'

In one sense, everybody in or passing through higher education is an 'intellectual'—a tautology that, once stated, adds nothing to understanding or analysing what processes are happening in the world.

There has however been such a deal of confusion among socialists on this topic that it is necessary to look a little closer at the theories put forward and the assumptions underlying them.

There is one approach in particular that might be summarised in the following three statements:

1. The main relationship between universities and capitalism is that they manufacture the ideological justifications for class society. The form this usually takes is anti-Marxist teaching in subjects like history, economics, etc.
2. The working class movement needs Marxist theory to be brought to it from "outside"—and the agents of this are mainly those intellectuals who, trained in the universities, have deserted the class of their birth and the ideology they were taught in favour of Marxism.
3. For both the above reasons, the most important part of higher education for Communists to aim their activity at, is the staff and students studying these subjects—especially those already with socialist tendencies. This will undermine capitalist ideology, win more intellectuals to the side of the working class, and form the basis for revolutionary theory.[23]

These statements can be quite useful—they highlight a process that does go on without any

[23] I think I have summarised the argument fairly—compare my summary anyway with the following four quotations:

> "These dominant ideas (of capitalism) . . . are invariably produced, or reproduced, within the university itself . . . it is therefore not surprising that social science students are usually so heavily involved in student revolt". (*Student Power*, R. Blackburn, Penguin Books 1969.)
>
> "It is not accident that . . . applied scientists and engineers are usually among the least militant of students". (*Ibid.* G. Stedman Jones.).

(N.B. This is certainly not always the case; in the movement against the increase in overseas students fees, for example, the movement was strongest in the technical colleges, which are often able to organise 100 per cent strikes at a time most universities could only manage protest meetings).

> "Some students are at the centre of production of bourgeois ideology (social science departments in the larger universities) and are thus the potential exponents of revolutionary theory". (*New Left Review* 53, D. Fernbach, 1969).
>
> "The revolutionary student must devote his or her time chiefly to developing critical thought in the bourgeois university . . . the University is an integral part of capitalist society and its ideology is geared to that society . . . by taking over the university from the followers of Mill, Locke and Marshall, we take away the university's complicit role in capitalist society". (*Morning Star*, Martin Kettle, 28.3.1969).

The argument sometimes has a more insidious implication—e.g. in its extreme form it easily leads to a "class-struggle for the workers, ideological debate for the intellectuals" dual political strategy, and even less logically "we need intellectuals; intellectuals have special needs e.g. they like freedom and dislike discipline; therefore we should alter Party rules of norms of behaviour to attract more of them". This does not even correspond with the historical experience of the Party—note that attraction that a very highly disciplined Party seemed to have for intellectuals in the '30s. These extreme forms of the argument are not however always adopted by those who put forward the above position.

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doubt, and encourage a very necessary form of activity of the movement.

But as a *theory* they must be rejected.

Statement (1) above does not correspond with the facts of the situation in higher education, replacing a total picture by a partial one. By any criterion of "main" relationship—numbers of people involved, amount of money expended, long and short term effects on the process of making profit, or uniqueness of function in the sense of undertaking activity that cannot be done by any other sphere of capitalism—the *main* relationship between higher education and capitalism lies in the production of skilled labour. This is not to underestimate the importance of the ideological function, but rather to give it a far more legitimate importance by seeing it in context.

Statement (2) is based on a misunderstanding of an analysis of Lenin's that both unsophisticated Marxism and history have made misleading—the famous quotation that political consciousness has to be brought to the workers "from without". The quotation continues, however "that is, only outside of the economic struggle, outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers", not necessarily from outside the working class movement itself. In fact Lenin paid tribute to the workers who took part in creating socialist ideology, as socialist theoreticians in their own right.[24]

Statement (3) ignores the history of the student movement and focuses only on one small, if important, section of students and staff to the exclusion of the 99 per cent who do not come in that section. In other words, it essentially abandons the mass movement to the class enemy, contenting itself with a permanent minority and therefore consisting fundamentally of a sectarian approach, in the true sense of the word.

The problem is not made any easier to resolve by the unfortunate feature that at least four distinct —and contradictory—uses of the word 'intellectual' are commonly found, quite apart from the use of the word as an insult which is so widespread that it may well be that the word itself is beyond rehabilitation.

The first definition refers to those *professionally engaged in the creation of ideas*. This rules out most students (except for a few postgraduates), doctors, most teachers, and of course engineers etc. But this includes some writers and artists (who as we have seen do not in general come through the higher education system), and some of the more brilliant physical scientists, though not their more routine colleagues.

The second use is a classification by the nature of the subject, rather than one's relationship to it; for example, economists, sociologists and philosophers are intellectuals, whether teachers or researchers or students, and whether or not they have created an idea in their whole lives. Thus it is interest rather than achievement that determines your eligibility. Physical scientists, 'non-manual workers', engineers etc. are not included, except in so far as any person not specialising in the prescribed subjects can achieve the title by reading enough to use the language and concepts.

The third approach to defining intellectual is that very common in practice, to assume that the word intellectual is identical to "revolutionary intellectual"—only the revolutionary can be a true intellectual, who is essentially one who writes and speaks revolutionary theory. He may or may not be in higher education, and his class origin and present occupation are irrelevant.

Lastly, there is a very widespread use of the word —by the Communist Party of France for example— which refers to pretty well *all* those who have been through higher education of any kind, and many who have not but are doing similar sorts of jobs. It includes those involved in the creation of ideas, the transmission of ideas, *and in the operation of techniques as well*—in other words, the factor of 'concern with ideology' is no longer a sufficient or necessary feature of being an intellectual.

It has little resemblance from the point of view of needs or class function with the much smaller groups described above. As the CPF puts it;

> "The number of engineers, technicians, researchers, and teachers is constantly growing. Intellectuals in all fields of knowledge are now counted by the million . . . (the majority) suffers from ever harder exploitation. Their role in the class struggle is increasing."[25]

Each of the four groups described above actually does exist, and there is no question of which definition of the word is the right one.

But what is the effect of all these definitions on the overall approach?

The fact of having several different definitions would not of itself matter much—it is a situation that scientists are often used to. The trouble comes as a result of the fact that these contradictions are not *recognised*—a discussion can take place with each participant using his own definition, and assuming—quite wrongly—that the other participants have in their minds the same meaning. Thus the conclusions of, say, the Communist Parties of France or Spain about millions of people with technical or professional qualifications can be confused with attitudes to the hundreds of conscious, revolutionary socialist theoreticians, simply because

[24] "What Is to Be Done?" V. I. Lenin, 1901-2.

[25] Manifesto of the Central Committee Communist Party of France, *L'Humanité* 7.12.1968.

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each may be considered to make up that group of people called intellectuals.

There is often an underlying assumption that to be an intellectual is a subjective thing, not an objective one; an intellectual is someone who regards himself as an intellectual. One claims the label, rather than earning it. This is roughly equivalent to all those discussions the sociologists had in the 50s about "The Middle Class"—which was everybody who used the word middle class to describe themselves. It has little in common with a Marxist approach.

The other side of this coin, it has to be recognised, is a deep distrust of the very word intellectual and of those who use this word of themselves, and this distrust is not only felt by working class people but also ironically by a very large section of those who, in most objectives senses of the word, are intellectuals themselves. It is rare that an architect, doctor, civil engineer, teacher or even many university lecturers will accept the description 'intellectual' without a sideways glance and an element of suspicion.

This distrust is usually put down to some such reason as "the British Working Class historical reluctance to accept theory" or "English empiricism" or the "pragmatic tradition", as if this was the explanation, rather than a symptom. But the thing goes deeper—there is a reaction against 'intellectuals' even by many of those who fully accept the need for theory, and who prove that this acceptance is not simply lip-service by contributing to the development of theory themselves.

Part of the problem lies in a sort of mystique that has been created, which, for example, can lead to the treatment of students and intellectuals by the *Party* in a non-Marxist way, a toleration of behaviour and attitudes and breaches of rule that nobody else would get away with. This is short-sighted and self-defeating—it rapidly *increases* alienation and undermines loyalty.

To draw the threads together. The body of trained experts and specialists, an increasing proportion of society, is essential for the full development of the labour movement.

But they are in fact increasingly becoming *a part of* the labour movement in their own right, rather than some external force which has to be won as an "ally" of the labour movement.

From this point of view, the "battle of ideas" affects *everybody* in class society, not only (or even especially) the academics and professionals. The battle against all these ideological influences by which capitalism maintains its hold over the minds of its class opponents—reformism, racialism, anti-communist socialism and the rest—is a battle that affects worker, student, teacher and professor alike.

Harry Pollit's formulation on this has not been bettered:

> "We have tended in recent years to look upon the battle of ideas as the task of the specialised few, writers, professional men and women, of a handful of theoreticians. Now all these comrades who work in specialised fields have an important role to play in the battle of ideas, each in his own sphere—philosophy, art, history, science, and literature."
>
> "But . . . the ideological struggle is a struggle that must be carried on by the whole Party in the factories and pits, in the railway depots, in the trade unions and co-operatives, as well as in the universities and organisations of cultural and scientific workers."[26]

Perhaps the essential point of this approach is that it does not see the battle of ideas as being a *means* for the workers but an *end* for intellectuals. For both, it is part of the process of class struggle which they are conducting.

What this means in practical political terms is that the correct political strategy for students, for example, is one that recognises the importance of specialist groups of students who are studying those subjects which Marxism has made into arenas of class struggle, by the organisation for example of such projects as the *Communist Universities* which have broken new ground so successfully. But that the *main line* of activity for the whole student movement is one which is focussed quite clearly on bringing students *as a group* (not just the left-wing minority) towards the labour movement, in mass struggle for their economic, political, academic, occupational and moral interests.

Other Features of Class in Higher Education

There are (at least) four other important ways in which higher education has proved bound up with the capitalist society of which it is a part, which space makes impossible to elaborate. I list them here merely for the sake of completeness, without the possibility of a full treatment.

First, there is the experience and function of the National Union of Students since the war: changes in political climate, leadership, and the very nature of its membership, have led it from its radical inception, through a period of being an agency of cold war, anti-communism and anti-militancy, to a genuine and representative union in its own right. And not without fierce and continuing battles. It is at the very centre of the whole future of the student movement.

Second, studies in concrete terms are now beginning not only of the *fact* of big business influence, but the *mechanics* of this. The undemocratic nature of the boards and committees of college government, weighted against students, most staff, and the labour movement alike, has been increasingly

[26] "Report to 22nd Congress of the Communist Party", Harry Pollitt, 1952.

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challenged, although not so far in a way that effectively unites student, staff and trade unions.

Third, there is the changing attitude to the question of what is the class position of the student *while he is a student*, quite apart from his origin or future. Is he worker, apprentice, parasite, or in some sort of classless limbo? This question is reflected in the debate about the student's means of livelihood—grant, salary or wage. As the last of the 'old guard' NUS Presidents wrote in horror "The student salary helps the student not only to identify with society, but to identify directly with his true 'class interest' in that society."[27]

Fourth, there is the *specific* way bourgeois ideology masquerades as common sense in each of those subjects where the subject matter itself is of an ideological character—political economy, some branches of sociology, philosophy and so on. I do not mean here the general effect of bourgeois ideology on all students, which is of a very similar character to that exerted on workers—on everybody in capitalism, in fact—but the disputes for example between the labour theory of value and the marginal theories of value at the highest theoretical level. It would clearly be intellectual arrogance to attempt a comprehensive survey of all such influences in all such departments: these subjects have to be dealt with *in depth* by specialists who have mastered their field (as specific articles do in *Marxism Today*, from time to time) or analysis gives way to phrase-mongering. The expertise necessary at a progandist and agitational level, of course, is much broader in scope.

The 1970's Compared with the 1940's

To conclude, I should like to refer to a book that —discovered by accident in a collection of archives from a previous era—in fact provoked this article.

This was a book *A Students View of the Universities*, written on the request of the National Union of Students in 1943, by a young graduate who had, in 1940, been President of that organisation, Brian Simon.

The book makes a number of statements about higher education at that time which contrasted quite strongly with many of the current attitudes about higher education. The following sections illustrate the main line of argument in the book.

> "The principal motive influencing students to go to a modern university is the desirability to obtaining professional qualifications of one kind or another." "In most faculties (examples given are medicine, dentistry, engineering, mining, metallurgy, applied chemistry, architecture, etc. PG) the connection between training and employment is apparent." Regarding pure science students, of whom a large number went into teaching, "for these students, just as much as for the medical students, the training received at the university is essentially vocational in nature".

The position of the Arts student was more difficult:

> "For students at the ancient universities[28] there is usually no direct relation between their actual syllabus at the university and their future careers, a state of affairs which is entirely due to their particular and privileged position in present day society . . . the vast majority of arts students in the modern universities follow the teaching profession".
>
> "In fact the arts student who studies some subject because he is interested in it, but who has no particular career in view, is apt to be very much a fish out of water in the present day world."[29]
>
> "The close connections between the Universities and the present form and structure of society is again demonstrated in the extent to which the modern universities exist to provide the necessary training for various types of employment.
>
> This point is emphasised because it is so frequently forgotten or overlooked in current discussions on the universities, where the point to be proved is that the universities exist for the pursuit of truth and are quite unrelated to social institutions, while their students, therefore, need not be concerned with the vulgar possibility of having to earn their daily bread."
>
> "It is clear that the function of the University today is essentially the limited one of providing vocational training for technicians and professional workers, or, in the case of the arts faculties of the ancient universities, vocational training for the ruling class."
>
> "It is no more possible to separate the Universities

[27] "A Report on "Student Wages' ", NUS, February, 1969.

[28] "The ancient universities" are Oxford and Cambridge. Practically all the rest are "modern". This terminology is not used much nowadays.

[29] This is a real problem. Compare this account of an interview with a Careers Appointments Officer, by Malcolm Bradbury:

> " 'You want', he said, 'a stimulating career for an arts graduate that isn't teaching?' He went over to the cabinet and after a minute or so he came back with a file, which he opened. It was empty. 'There aren't any,' he said." (Directory of Opportunities for Graduates", Cornmarket Press, 1970).

This is exaggerated, but with a horrifying grain of truth. As Fergus Nicholson says (*Marxism Today*, October, 1969).

> "Students have two wishes about their courses which pull in opposite directions.
>
> On the one hand they want their courses to be *relevant*, to teach them things which will help them in their work, which will relate to modern society and practice; on the other hand they want to avoid undue specialisation, they are offended at being programmed for too specific, too narrow a function.
>
> This contradiction appears insoluble within class society."

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> from the social process, to visualise them as centres where the search for pure knowledge can be carried on unimpeded by the vulgar activity of day-to-day life, than it is to isolate any other institution from society as a whole."

What has changed since this analysis was written? A few things, I think; the ruling class now recruits a little more widely than the arts faculties of Oxford and Cambridge, for example.

But the startling thing is that *nearly all the major changes in higher education in the last 20 years*—and especially in the last seven—*seem to make the thesis more true, not less*—the growth of the non-University sector, the increasing proportion of graduates seeking employment, the rapid acceleration of science and technological advance in industry. In fact so much is this so, that many educationalists seem to think of exactly those features that Brian Simon was describing in the 1940s, as being "new" features of the 1960s, a comparatively recent distortion of the historic role of the University system.

Thus if this analysis is true of the 1940s, the major change between then and now is not a change of *function* at all, but a change in the *size* of that function; i.e. what in the 40s was a matter of training for the thousands of professionals and technicians, is now a matter of training the hundreds of thousands. And, soon, the millions.

Document:

Solving the Kurdish Problem

Statement of the Iraqi Communist Party

The Statement printed below was made by the Iraqi Communist Party in mid-March 1970. The sub-heads are ours.

The President of the Republic, in the name of the Revolutionary Command Council, announced on the 11th March, 1970, the agreement which was reached between the Iraqi Government and the leadership of the Kurdish Revolution, headed by Mustafa Al-Barazani, leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party, who supported everything that was included in the Agreement. This has started a new stage in the development of Iraq and the Kurdish people.

The fourteenth clause (the Recognition of Autonomy for the Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan within the Iraqi Republic), the most important in the agreement, declares: "Unification of Counties and Municipalities which are dominated by a Kurdish majority . . . .The Government will endeavour to develop these municipalities and *to increase the participation of the Kurdish people in their running so as to guarantee the Kurdish national rights and autonomy*". The agreement emphasises the participation of the Kurdish people in the legislature. The emphasis on "*The speedy implementation of the Agrarian Reform in the Kurdish area*" and "*an end to feudal relations*" is of special importance and social significance with "The exemption of the peasants from the accumulated agricultural taxes" and "*A guarantee to the peasants that they will obtain appropriate plots of land*".

The agreement necessitates the amendment of certain articles in the Emergency Constitution and recognises the co-existence of the Kurdish and Arabic nationalities in Iraq and their participation in the Executive Power. Furthermore it contains many recommendations regarding the implementation of Kurdish national rights, and fair compensation for the damage and repression which resulted in material and human losses as a consequence of the war that has been waged against them by the many chauvinistic regimes.

The Party's Policy

Our party, since its formation, has struggled and played an important role in the awakening of political, democratic and internationalist consciousness in Iraqi Kurdistan with the same vigour which characterised our party in the Arabic section. The close co-operation between our party, the Kurdish Democratic party and all the patriotic Kurds strengthened the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and reaction, and fought for the right of

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the Kurdish people for self-determination. Our party waged a consistent fight simultaneously against the chauvinistic ideas and policies of the Arab ruling classes and against the separatist ideas and narrow nationalist outlook of the Kurdish bourgeoisie. Also we fought for the voluntary union of the Kurdish and Arabic people of Iraq.

The recognition of the right of all nations to self-determination has been one of the principal policies of the Iraqi Communist Party ever since 1935, the first anniversary of the foundation of the party. These national rights were further emphasised in the second Party Conference in the autumn of 1956 which adopted autonomous rule for Iraqi Kurdistan. In May, 1961, we warned of the serious consequences of the conflict in Kurdistan. When the Kurdish people rose to defend themselves against the barbarous military operations of September 1961, we immediately condemned this chauvinistic war.

During the past nine years, our Party has organised many popular campaigns in support of the Kurdish people and in condemnation of the unjust chauvinistic war against them. In March 1962, we published a detailed programme for the solution of the Kurdish problem on the basis of Kurdish autonomy, and then carried on a campaign of support in the Arab world and internationally for a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish conflict.

The agreement between the government and the Kurdish leadership goes a long way to meeting the policies we struggled for over the past years, and we can see in it an important base for the solution of the conflict. Our party took the initiative in supporting the agreement in the letter of the First Secretary of the E.C. to the President of the Republic, "*The Iraqi Communist Party which has used every effort during the past years for the peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish question, will mobilise all its energies and capabilities for the fulfilment of this historic agreement to the letter, in co-operation with the Baath Socialist Party, the Kurdish Democratic Party and all the patriotic and progressive forces*".

Victory for Progressive Ideas

This victory has been achieved after a bitter fight and huge sacrifices by the Kurdish and Arabic people and the other minorities of Iraq, and by the many efforts and the political and ideological struggles waged by our people and its patriotic political parties. Hence the solution that was reached is *a victory for the Iraqi people with its Arabic, Kurdish and other minority nationalities and the patriotic movement*. It is a victory for the progresive ideas and scientific political policies in our country, and a crushing defeat for the dark forces of imperialism, reaction, chauvinistic ideas, the policy of persecution of minority groups and the supporters of the unnecessary war.

Progressive and democratic public opinion in the Arab world and internationally, in the socialist countries and in all anti-imperialist countries welcomed with great relief, the declaration for the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish problem. They see in the declaration and its implementation a victory for human rights and the rights of nations and nationalities in the running of their affairs and an answer to their wishes for the Kurdish people to win their national rights. Furthermore, they see it as a tremendous blow against imperialism, its pacts, the reactionary regimes following it and the imperialist and Zionist plots and intrigues in the Middle East.

The Kurdish problem and the fighting which resulted between brothers in Iraqi Kurdistan, and the oppression that the Kurdish people suffered, created serious weaknesses and provided fertile ground for the activities of imperialism and the Cento Pact in Iraq and the Middle East. The imperialists and their reactionary supporters exploited this dangerous situation in order to destroy the national unity, and found in this a sure way of endangering national independence. This was a

50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE C.P.G.B.

Ths October issue of Marxism Today will be a Special Issue containing:

John Gollan	**On the 50th Anniversary of the CPGB**
Idris Cox	**Fifty Years against Imperialism**
Peter Kerrigan	**The CPGB and Industrial Struggles**
George Short	**The Communist Party in the North East during the General Strike**
Nan Green	**The CPGB and the War in Spain**

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realistic starting point for them to jeopardise the gains of the glorious 14th July revolution and to bring about a return of imperialist domination in Iraq. This was the main reason for the imperialists to speed up and carry out their conspiracy last January, when they realised that negotiations between the Government and the leadership of the Kurdish revolution had advanced a long way. This will help to explain the measures taken by the reactionary Government of the Shah of Persia against Iraqi sovereignty in the Shat Al-Arab area and the massing of their army on our eastern borders. The agreement is therefore a sound move in eliminating dangers to national unity and in taking the initiative from the imperialists and in ending one of the destructive weapons of reaction. This represents a great victory for the slogan of our people:"*Arab-Kurdish unity is the cornerstone for the destruction of imperialism*"; *this is the only way of strengthening the unity of the Arab-Kurdish struggle on concrete foundations.*

The Fruits of Unity

The declaration of the agreement has resulted from the first day in a *new development in the Arabic position.* This has created a new starting point "to concentrate on using the capabilities of Iraq to the utmost for the just struggle of the Arab nations against imperialism and Zionism", as stated in the letter of the First Secretary of the E.C. to the President of the Republic. It is now possible for the Iraqi army to take a more active and effective part on the eastern front to remove traces of aggression and to bring about the liberation of the occupied Arab lands and to support and take part in the just struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination in Palestine, their homeland. The units of the Iraqi army and air force, which have been immobilised for many years in Iraqi Kurdistan or were engaged in a racialist war against the Kurdish people, can now be directed towards the eastern front. This will not only consolidate the Arab position in Jordan, but will consolidate the positions and capabilities of the Arab armies on the cease-fire lines in the UAR, Syria and Lebanon, and will add a large force to the resistance movement (Feddayen), and will open the way for using human capabilities—Arabic and Kurdish—to serve the great struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

In addition to this, the return of a normal state of affairs to Kurdistan will save large sums of money, which have previously been wasted for purposes against the interest of both the Arabic and Kurdish peoples.

It is not a secret that the racialist war against the Kurdish people has usurped more than 600 million Dinars since 1961, in addition to the large human sacrifices and the destruction of the national economy. An important proportion of the budget can now be allocated not only to the development of the Kurdish area and to raise the standard of living of the Kurdish people, as was stated in the agreement, but can also be used to consolidate Iraqi participation in the Arab efforts to defeat the Israeli-imperialist conspiracies and their expansionist policies.

The new situation will free Iraq to stand against the activities of the Cento Pact and their puppet regime in Persia, as well as to put an end to their incursion into Iraqi national sovereignty and their intervention in the internal affairs of Iraq. Furthermore, the national rights of the Kurdish people, which have affirmed and guaranteed Kurdish autonomy in Iraq, have been since their declaration, a living example and an encouragement for the struggle of the Kurdish people in Turkish and Persian Kurdistan. This will lead to new developments which will place these reactionary and pro-imperialist regimes in an acute and difficult position in facing the struggle of the people of these countries, including the struggle of the Kurdish people.

The immediate and expected developments which will result from the solution of the Kurdish problem will force the imperialists, reactionaries and Zionists to increase their activities and to act speedily to stop this new current and important development in order to bring about the downfall of the patriotic Iraqi Government. These sinister forces realise well that the new situation in Iraq will demand a continuous move forward in order to develop everything that has been achieved against the reactionary imperialist conspiracies and intrigues which seek to turn back all the gains and achievements that have been made so far.

The Iraqi Communist Party is very keen to see the agreement between the Iraqi Government and the leadership of the Kurdish revolution operate as a basis for a final solution to the Kurdish problem and a new stage for the cordial co-operation between Arabic and Kurdish people and all the other minorities of Iraq. We will struggle tirelessly (as we always have in the past) so that the agreement that was reached will not just be a temporary ceasefire and to ensure that there will be no renewal of the fighting after longer or shorter periods of time, as has been

FORTHCOMING DISCUSSION

We have in hand a number of discussion contributions on **Socialist Democracy, Why Did it Happen? Marxism and Science.** As the next issue is a special number on our 50th Anniversary, publication of these discussion items will resume from the November issue.

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the case over the past nine years. Our party, like the other patriotic and progressive parties, knows that the reactionaries and certain elements in the army have a selfish interest in the continued fighting (between brothers) in Kurdistan, which helped to increase their accounts in foreign banks. These are the elements which have falsified and distorted our stand regarding the Kurdish revolution. These elements were insidiously active in putting many obstacles in the way of negotiations, trying to destroy them and striving to block the way leading to any agreement.

The imperialists, reactionaries and the Cento Pact will co-ordinate their plots with these elements which are widespread in Iraq's civil and military administrations; they will obstruct the implementation of the agreement; they will carry on subversive activities and create clashes in Kurdistan and conspire against national independence. To implement the agreement and to block imperialist, reactionary and Zionist plots requires the creation of the necessary conditions.

Our party has emphasised in the past and emphasises now that the only realistic guarantee that the creation of these conditions will carry out the agreed solution and will cut the ground beneath the feet of the reactionaries and pro-imperialist parasites lies in the revival of democratic freedom and the formation of a democratic government in the country. Our party and our people believe that the solution of the Kurdish problem is strongly organically connected with the issue of democracy for the Iraqi people. Our party, on this basis has coined the slogan "Democracy for Iraq and Autonomy for Kurdistan".

The experience of our patriotic movement and the experiences of other peoples teaches us that Iraqi Kurdistan cannot enjoy any autonomy without democratic rule for all Iraq, for this kind of rule is the only one capable of utilising the energies of the Arabic and Kurdish masses for the development of Iraq as a whole, politically, economically, culturally and socially and thus guarding national independence and defeating the conspiracies of imperialism, reaction and Zionism.

There are no means, other than by the participation of the organised masses enjoying their democratic freedom, and led by their patriotic and progressive parties, capable of executing these necessary actions —at the forefront being national rights and autonomy for the Kurdish people.

Starting from this principled position, our party has struggled and continues to struggle for organisational and political freedom for the patriotic and political parties and for freedom for the popular and democratic organisations, for the creation of the popular front and the forming of a national coalition government, responsible for the leadership of the national democratic struggle of our people.

Our party realises that today a great responsibility lies on all the patriotic parties for the implementation of a peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish problem, since the struggle of the Iraqi people, Arab-Kurds and other minorities, is passing today through a delicate and crucial period. Hence the patriotic parties are called upon to rise to their responsibilities and to intensify their struggle for the formation of the popular front. The present situation is characterised by the agreement to solve an important and dangerous issue, i.e., the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish problem, and to remove one of the great obstacles which stood in the way of the popular front, and obstructed its formation. This period is furthermore characterised by the increase of imperialist and Zionist conspiracies against Iraq and the Arab nations. These two factors should give the most appropriate conditions for the popular front and a patriotic coalition government.

The First Secretary of the E.C. pinpointed this reality in his telegram to the President of the Republic on 11th March, 1970: "This agreement, apart from being a great revolutionary step, will be a principal cornerstone for the formation of a united popular front between the progressive forces and political parties for achieving the final victory against imperialism, feudalism and reaction, for a progressive democratic and prosperous Iraq and for the utilisation of our people's utmost energies for the just struggle of the Arab nation against imperialism and Zionism.

(Continued from page 287)

the country. Agreement was however reached between both sides in October 1920 on co-operation against Wrangel's white guard army. It included political clauses providing for an amnesty of all Anarchists and Makhnovites arrested. It guaranteed them freedom to propagate their ideas (but excluding any call for the violent overthrow of the Soviet government) and their right to vote and be elected to the Soviets.[134] It could however not survive the mutual suspicions of Black and White forces and the reluctance of the Soviet authorities, after the rout of the Whites in November, to allow Makhnov's armed bands to continue their independent, uncontrolled existence. A Red Army offensive was launched, which ended in their defeat in August 1921. During the fighting, Anarchists were imprisoned all over the country.

(To be completed in a subsequent article)

[134] S. N. Semanov, "The Makhno Movement and its Collapse", (in Russian), in *Voprosy Istorii*, No. 9, 1966, p. 56; D. Footman, *Civil War in Russia* (London, 1961), p. 295.

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Discussion Contribution on:

Socialism, Democracy and the One-Party System (Part Two)

Monty Johnstone

The almost bloodless revolution carried through in Petrograd under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky placed power on November 7th (October 25th) 1917 in the hands of the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. That evening the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets met. The Bolsheviks, who had made up only 14 per cent of the delegates at the first congress in June, now comprised 60 per cent. They were joined by the left wing of the S.R.s bringing another 15 per cent of the delegates to give their approval to the uprising and the transfer of all power in Russia into the hands of the Soviets. In the next few months, on a wave of popular enthusiasm, Soviet power was relatively peacefully established throughout most other parts of the country.

The new regime constituted in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat[73], which Lenin saw as "a specific form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian strata (petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors, and peasantry, the intelligentsia etc.) or the majority of these strata."[74] If, however, we apply Stalin's un-Leninist definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat as leadership "*wholly* and *entirely* in the hands of *one* party, in the hands of our party, which does not and cannot share the leadership of state with another party",[75] it could not logically be said to have existed in Russia from November 1917 to March 1918, when the Bolsheviks shared power with the Left S.R.s.

Multi-Party Soviet System

Far from seeing Soviet power as a one-party system, Lenin frequently argued in the months before the revolution that "only this power could assure a continuous and broad development of the revolution, a peaceful struggle of parties within the Soviets."[76] After the October Revolution, he drafted a decree providing for proportional representation "based on acceptance of the party system and the conduct of elections by organised parties."[77] He continued to argue the superiority of the Soviet system on the grounds that, under it, "if the working people are dissatisfied with their party they can elect other delegates, hand power to another party and change the government without any revolution at all."[78] This approach is the exact opposite of that subsequently adopted by Stalin, who in 1927 argued that the Communist Party could claim to enjoy a monopoly of legality because in 1917 "the working class of the USSR made its *final* selection and accepted the Communist Party as the only party."[79]

Lenin's views on the freedom of the press under Soviet power also presuppose a multi-party system. "Freedom of the press," he wrote in September 1917, "means that all opinions of *all* citizens may be freely published. . . . State power in the shape of the Soviets takes *all* the printing presses and *all* the newsprint and distributes them *equitably:* the state comes first. . . . The big parties come second. . . . The smaller parties come third, and then any group of citizens which has a certain number of members or has collected a certain number of signatures."[80]

When the Bolsheviks were in power they moved a resolution, adopted by the Central Executive

[73] In the first period of Soviet power it was usually described as "the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry".

[74] Foreword (June 1919) to "Deception of the People", *C.W.*, 29, p. 381.

[75] J. Stalin, "The Party's 3 Fundamental Slogans", 6 April 1927, *Works* (Moscow, 1954), Volume 9, p. 217. Emphasis in original.

[76] "One of the Fundamental Questions of the Revolution" (September 1917), *C.W.*, 25, p. 367.

[77] Draft Decree on the Right of Recall (December 1917), *C.W.*, 26, p. 336.

[78] Replies to Questions sent up at Extraordinary All-Russian Railwaymen's Congress (January 1918), *ibid.*, p. 498. See, also, from C.C. of R.S.D.L.P.(b) to all Party Members (November 1917), *ibid.*, p. 303.

[79] J. Stalin, Interview with First American Labour Delegation (September 1927), *Leninism* (London, 1933), Volume 2, pp. 58-59. My emphasis.

[80] "How to Guarantee the Success of the Constituent Assembly", *C.W.*, 25, pp. 377-8. Emphasis in original.

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Committee of the Soviets (CEC) on November 17th, 1917, likewise providing for "the confiscating of private printing presses and stocks of paper and handing them over to the Soviet authorities, both central and local, for the use of political parties and groups in proportion . . . to the number of their adherents."[81]

Professor Sobolev's Article

In his article, "The Origins of the One-Party System in the USSR,"[82] the Soviet historian, Professor P. N. Sobolev, interpreting a multi-party system as a multi-party *government*, disputes the contention that a multi-party system existed in Russia until 1920-21 since other parties were able to function legally till then.[83] By the terms of his definition a "multi-party system functioned . . . only in the period of the *bloc* of the Bolsheviks with the Left S.R.s when the latter formed part of the All-Russian CEC and the Soviet government."[84]

This approach seems to me to obscure the important fact that a one-party government need not in any way entail a one-party system in the usual sense of the term—i.e. one where only a single party is allowed to exist, function and be represented in legislative bodies—as we know from the British political system. By concentrating his whole attention on the question of a governmental "*bloc* with those parties that recognised the October Revolution, the leading role of the working class and its party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat,"[85] Comrade Sobolev avoids analysing the crucial question of the attitude of Lenin and the Bolsheviks to the claim to legal existence under the dictatorship of the proletariat of parties in disagreement with, and even in opposition to, the Communist Party.

Lenin regarded these two questions as separate. Freedom for other parties, which he favoured, did not at all presuppose that the Bolsheviks must share power with them. Having won a majority at the Second Congress of Soviets, Lenin argued, the Bolshevik Party was "entitled to form the government and it was their duty to do so."[86] However, having already taken over and implemented the land programme of the S.R.s ("as a democratic government, we cannot ignore the decision of the mass of the people even when we disagree with it", Lenin explained[87]), the Bolsheviks sought further to broaden the basis of the government's support among the peasantry by bringing the Left S.R.s into the government. Between November 1917 and March 1918 the latter held seven posts in the Council of People's Commissars.

Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly

By their coalition with the Left S.R.s the Bolsheviks secured majority support for the Soviet government among the people, whose true feelings were inadequately reflected in the Constituent Assembly elected at the end of November 1917. In this the S.R.s emerged as the largest single party, followed by the Bolsheviks, who had obtained about one quarter of the votes.[88] Professor John Plamenatz, not noted for his sympathies for Communism, is right to warn against interpreting this result too much as though it had happened in England. "In the villages," he points out, "the peasants, when voting for the Socialist-Revolutionaries, were not voting against the Bolsheviks, while in the towns the Bolsheviks won an overwhelming victory over the Mensheviks and the middle-class Cadets."[89]

The lists of candidates for the Socialist-Revolutionary Party had been made up before the

[81] J. Bunyan and H. H. Fisher, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1918, Documents and Materials* (Stanford, 1961), p. 220.

[82] *Marxism Today*, April 1969, pp. 106-114.

[83] In his original article in *Voprosy Istorii K.P.S.S.*, No. 8, 1968, Sobolev specifically polemises against another Soviet historian, E. G. Gimpelson, who had argued this in his article, "From the History of the Formation of the One-Party System in the USSR" in *Voprosy Istorii*, No. 11, 1965.

[84] Sobolev, *Marxism Today*, p. 109.

[85] *ibid.*, p. 107.

[86] From the Central Committee (November 1917), *C.W.*, 26, p. 304. See, also, Speeches concerning the Left S.R.s' Question, *ibid*, p. 289.

[87] Report on Land (November 1917), *C.W.*, 26, p. 260.

[88] Out of 44,433,309 votes cast in 65 (out of a total of 79) electoral districts, the S.R.s obtained 17,942,974, or 40.4 per cent. The Bolsheviks received 10,661,130, or 24 per cent; the Cadets—2,088,121, or 4.7 per cent; the Mensheviks—only 1,144,615, or 2.7 per cent. The remaining votes went to nationalist bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties and various other groups. (L. M. Spirin, *Classes and Parties in the Civil War in Russia*, in Russian, Moscow, 1968, p. 59) Lenin, in his article, *The Elections to the Constituent Assembly and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (*C.W.*, 30, pp. 253-275) uses the figures given by the Socialist-Revolutionary N. V. Sviatitsky, which are drawn from only 54 electoral districts, in which 36,262,560 votes were cast.

[89] J. Plamenatz, *German Marxism and Russian Communism* (London, 1961), p. 255. The Bolsheviks, who had the support of the great majority of the Russian workers, received 47 per cent of the votes in Petrograd and Moscow—nearly four times as many as the Socialist-Revolutionaries and slightly more than the combined vote of the S.R.s, Cadets and Mensheviks. The Mensheviks only polled 3 per cent of the total. Nearly half the army voted Communist. (Spirin, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.)

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October Revolution, which irrevocably split the S.R.s into two separate parties—the Left S.R.s, who supported the revolution, and the Right S.R.s, who opposed it.[90] Only in 5-6 gubernias did the Left S.R.s put up their own independent candidates.[91] The position which emerged with 370 of the S.R.s elected adhering to the Right and only 40 to the Left made the Assembly totally unrepresentative of the feeling in the country. This was clearly shown at the two All-Russian Congresses of Peasants' Deputies in November and December 1917, where the Left S.R.s secured majorities.[92]

The original intention of holding new elections to make the Assembly reflect the will of the people was not carried into operation. Although the effect of a Bolshevik-Left S.R. victory in such elections would unquestionably have been of considerable assistance to the Communist cause in countries with strong parliamentary-democratic traditions,[93] the threat created by the anti-Soviet uprising in the Don Region, led by Generals Kaledin and Kornilov, militated against their being held. The prospects of any assembly where —as Lenin saw it—the Cadet Party intended "to sit and organise civil war at the same time"[94] were hardly promising. Moreover, such elections were felt to be superfluous since power was now in the hands of the Soviets, which Lenin saw as "revolutionary organisations of the whole people . . . incomparably superior to any parliament in the world."[95]

After the anti-Bolshevik majority in the Constituent Assembly had refused to recognise Soviet power and approve the main decrees passed since the October Revolution, Bolsheviks and Left S.R.s agreed on its dissolution. This was promulgated by the CEC in January 1918. The Right S.R.s and Mensheviks succeeded in arousing singularly little enthusiasm among the Russian people for their campaign for the "defence of the Constituent Assembly", whose dispersal they cited as proof of Communist contempt for democracy. Though peasant attitudes to the Soviet government were to fluctuate in the years ahead[96] it would never have won through against overwhelming odds in the Civil War unless, as the late Professor Peter Nettl pointed out, the majority of the population had "opted for the Reds" as the only viable alternative to a Tsarist restoration.[97]

Repression Against the Bourgeoisie

In the first period of Soviet power the multi-party system envisaged by Lenin operated within the framework of the Soviets, in which Bolsheviks, S.R.s, Mensheviks and other smaller groups sharply debated policy. Repressive measures were however taken against the Cadets, the main capitalist party, around which all the bourgeois and monarchist forces had grouped themselves and which was directing the recruitment of officers for the White Guard Volunteer Army in the South.

On December 11th, 1917, Lenin and other People's Commissars signed a government decree declaring that "members of leading bodies of the Cadet Party, as a party of the enemies of the people, are liable to arrest and trial by revolutionary tribunal." Local Soviets were to "exercise special surveillance over the Cadet Party in view of its connections with the Kornilov-Kaledin civil war against the revolution."[98] The few dozen Cadets arrested under this decree were all released within a few months following the defeat of the insurgent forces on the Don.[99] It is interesting that the

[90] Lenin, Report to Extraordinary Railwaymen's Congress (January 1918), *C.W.*, 26, pp. 485-487; I. N. Steinberg, *In the Workshop of the Revolution* (London, 1955), p. 53.

[91] In Petrograd, where there were separate lists, the Left S.R.s received 152,230 votes as against only 4,696 for the Right S.R.s; in the Baltic Fleet they obtained 30,756 as against 13,613, and in Kazan 180, 316 compared with 89,684 for the Right S.R.s (Spirin, *op. cit.*, Appendix No. 1, pp. 417-419.)

[92] The Extraordinary Peasant Congress that opened in Petrograd on 10 November 1917 was attended by 330 voting delegates, of whom 195 were Left S.R.s, 65 Right S.R.s and 37 Bolsheviks. (P. N. Sobolev, Ed., *History of the October Revolution*, Moscow, 1966, p. 277). Out of the 790 delegates at the Second Peasant Congress (26 November—10 December) 350, or 44 per cent, were Left S.R.s; 307, or 39 per cent, were Right S.R.s; and 91, or 12 per cent, were Bolsheviks. (Spirin, *op. cit.*, p. 112).

[93] It is interesting however that Rosa Luxemburg, who criticised the Bolsheviks for not holding new elections to the Constituent Assembly (R. Luxemburg, *The Russian Revolution*, Michigan, 1961, p. 59) was shortly afterwards, in the German Revolution of 1918-19, to counterpose the demand for Workers' Councils to a National Assembly. (R. Luxemburg, "Die Nationalversammlung"—(20 November 1918—in R. Luxemburg, *Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften*, Berlin, 1951, Volume 2, pp. 605-6.)

[94] Meeting of the All-Russia CEC (December 1917), *C.W.*, 26, p. 354.

[95] Speech on Dissolution of Constituent Assembly (January 1918), *ibid.*, p. 439.

[96] See Lenin, "The Elections to the Constituent Assembly" (December 1919), *C.W.*, 30 pp. 268-9; Speech at Transport Workers' Conference (March 1921), *C.W.*, 32, pp. 277-279.

[97] J. P. Nettl, *The Soviet Achievement* (London, 1967), p. 65.

[98] Decree on Arrest of Civil War Leaders, in *C.W.*, 26, p. 351. Lenin's speech justifying this decree and the CEC resolution approving it appear in *ibid.*, pp. 353-356.

[99] Spirin, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

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decree did not speak of actually *banning* the party, which continued to publish most of its newspapers till August 1918, despite "temporary and special measures" against seditious bourgeois journals. These were decreed on November 9th 1917, when Kerensky was marching on Petrograd with Cossack troops under General Krasnov.[100] In fact it was a sign of strength on the part of the Bolshevik government that in this period it allowed the great bulk of the opposition press to appear with very little interference, even in February 1918, when the German army resumed its advance into Soviet territory.[101]

The disfranchisement of the bourgeoisie, spelt out in the Soviet Constitution adopted in July 1918, "is not a necessary and indispensable feature of the dictatorship of the proletariat," explained Lenin in his polemic with Kautsky. Like so much else in the exceptional circumstances of the Russian Revolution, it had not been proclaimed or planned in advance, but had "*emerged*" in the course of the struggle.[102] It reflected the intransigent position that the bourgeoisie had chosen to take up towards Soviet power. "Nobody drove the bourgeoisie out of the Soviets before or after the October Revolution," emphasised Lenin. "*The bourgeoisie themselves left the Soviets.*"[103] Thus no question of principle was involved whereby, as some would-be Leninists assert today, working class power must necessarily assume institutional forms that exclude the bourgeoisie. "It is theoretically quite conceivable", Lenin asserted, "that the dictatorship of the proletariat may suppress the bourgeoisie at every step without disfranchising them. . . . Nor do we propose our Constitution as a model for other countries. All we say is that whoever conceives the transition to socialism without the suppression of the bourgeoisie is not a socialist. But while it is essential to suppress the bourgeoisie as a class, it is not essential to deprive them of franchise and equality."[104]

Right SRs and Mensheviks in Civil War

In the spring and summer of 1918 foreign military intervention and civil war began on a large scale. The young Soviet state found its shrinking borders under attack from all sides. Meanwhile a variety of anti-Soviet organisations—in contact with both allied and German missions—sought to foment discontent and revolt.[105] Not only the Cadet Party but also the Right S.R.s and an important section of the Mensheviks (despite the disapproval of the majority of their central committee) were involved in these plots which the Extraordinary Commission to Fight Counter-Revolution and Sabotage (the Cheka) proceeded to uncover.

In May 1918, the Eighth Council of the Right S.R.s, held in Moscow, instructed their party's central committee to "take whatever measures may be necessary"[106] in working "to overthrow the Bolshevik dictatorship and to establish a government based on universal suffrage and willing to accept allied assistance in the war against Germany." An All-Russian Menshevik conference, meeting quite legally the same month in the Soviet capital, agreed on striving to bring down the Bolshevik government. It was however deeply divided on methods. The right wing, led by Lieber, favoured accepting Anglo-French help. The left and centre, following Martov and Dan, persuaded the conference to reject this course and to concentrate on legal action to attain its ends. But their "continuous orgy of equivocal phrases and ambiguous resolutions"[107] only added to the rising difficulties of the Soviet republic.

Right S.R.s—with the support of a number of prominent Mensheviks and local Menshevik organisations—played the leading roles in a number of anti-Soviet governments set up in various parts

[100] Bunyan and Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-220. See, also, John Reed, *Ten Days That Shook The World* (London, 1934), pp. 225-228, which carries a lively report of the debate in the CEC, where the decree was approved by 34 votes to 24. Among those opposing were some Bolshevik leaders. So deeply rooted was their party's traditional attachment to democratic freedoms that they rejected such measures against capitalist opponents even in an incipient civil war. This disproves Professor Leonard Schapiro's assertion that "suppression of the opposition was taken for granted by all Bolsheviks.' (L. Schapiro, "Putting the Lid on Leninism", in *Government and Opposition*, London, Volume 2, No. 2, January-April 1967, p. 182).

[101] For a different estimate, see Andrew Rothstein, *A History of the USSR*, (Penguin Books, 1950), p. 46, where this is seen as "proof of a tolerance which was as fruitless as that of the Paris Commune."

[102] *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (November 1918), *C.W.*, 28, pp. 271-2. Emphasis in original.

[103] Report on the Party Programme to Eighth Congress of R.C.P. (b), (March 1919), *C.W.*, 29, p. 185. Emphasis in original.

[104] *ibid.*, pp. 184-5. See, also, Insertion for Politica Section of Programme, *ibid.*, p. 125, where the introduction of "unrestricted universal suffrage" is contemplated. (Those disfranchised constituted barely 2 or 3 per cent of the population.)

[105] J. Bunyan, *Intervention, Civil War, and Communism in Russia, April-December* 1918, *Documents and Materials* Baltimore, 1936), pp. 172-185, 192-196.

[106] *ibid.*, pp. 187-8. Also, Spirin, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-161, where the ambiguities of the Menshevik position are discussed.

[107] I. Maisky (at this time a member of the Menshevik Central Committee, from which he was expelled for joining a government of members of the Constituent Assembly at Samara), *The Democratic Counter-Revolution*, in Bunyan, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

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of Russia under the protection of foreign bayonets during the summer and autumn of 1918,[108] as well as in insurrections, like that at Yaroslavl in July 1918 financed by French embassy funds.[109] In Baku, at the same time, the Right S.R.s and the Mensheviks voted to invite in British troops.[110]

On June 14th, 1918, noting the precarious position in which the Soviet republic now found itself, the CEC decided to exclude from its membership the representatives of the Right S.R.s and the Mensheviks and urged all Soviets to do likewise. The presence there in that situation of "representatives of parties which were obviously endeavouring to discredit and overthrow the Soviet government" was "absolutely intolerable", declared its decree, pointing to the implication of leading members of these parties in *armed* counter-revolutionary actions.[111] Following this, Right S.R. and Menshevik papers were temporarily closed down.

Left SR Uprising

Although the Left S.R.s had resigned from the Soviet government in March 1918 in protest at the signing of the Brest Litovsk Treaty with the Germans, they had retained their places in the CEC, the Cheka and other Soviet agencies. At the Fifth Congress of Soviets at the beginning of July 1918 their 352 delegates mounted a violent verbal offensive against Bolshevik food policies and the Brest Treaty, to which Lenin calmly gave a point by point reply. It was the Left S.R.s themselves who chose to place themselves outside this constitutional framework, in which they could have continued to function legally as the chief opposition party. After they had been outvoted at the congress, they walked out and embarked on a course of terrorist action. In accordance with a decision of their central committee, the German ambassador, von Mirbach, was assassinated on July 6th in the hope of provoking a renewal of hostilities with Germany. They immediately followed this action by abortive armed uprisings in Moscow and other parts of the country. These included the revolt of Muravyov, the Soviet Commander-in-Chief on the Eastern front.

Such behaviour, at a time of great national danger, could not but produce repressive measures against those involved. A number of leaders were tried and sentenced to up to three years' imprisonment, from which several of them were almost immediately amnestied. These appear to have included Proshyan, who died at liberty in December and for whom Lenin wrote a laudatory obituary despite his leading role in the Moscow rising.[112] The Congress of Soviets called for the expulsion from all Soviets of all Left S.R.s who associated themselves with the assassination and the risings.[113] However, on the proposal of Sverdlov, the Bolshevik Chairman of the CEC, seats on that body—allocated to each party in proportion to its support—would be reserved for representatives of the Left S.R.s who repudiated these acts.[114] The party itself was not banned and held its fourth (and last) congress in Moscow in October. Internal divisions led to the formation of two small breakaway parties favouring co-operation with the Soviet government. They were the short-lived Narodnik Communists, who dissolved to join the Bolsheviks in November, and the Party of Revolutionary Communists, who retained their independent organisation, publishing house and periodicals till the autumn of 1920, when they followed suit.[115]

Its July adventure lost the Left S.R. Party a large part of its peasant support. The drastic fall in its representation from 352 delegates (30.3 per cent) at the Fifth Congress of Soviets in July to only four (0.6 per cent) at the Sixth in November reflect this decline in popularity as well as the administrative measures taken at a time of fierce civil war against those associated with terrorist acts.

Terror—White and Red

In the summer of 1918—at a time when three-quarters of Soviet territory was controlled by anti-

[108] See Bunyan, *op. cit.*, Chapter 6.

[109] *Boris Savinkov pered Voennoy Kollegiey Verkhovnogo Suda SSSR* (Moscow, 1924, pp. 56-59, 69-70.

[110] Lenin, *C.W.*, 28, pp. 20-22. General Dunsterville, who commanded these troops, later revealed that the Right S.R.s had been in touch with him throughout the preceding period of Soviet power. (L. C. Dunsterville, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce*, London, 1920, pp. 182, 186.)

[111] Bunyan, *op. cit.*, p. 191. In *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (*C.W.*, 28, pp. 276-7) Lenin replies to the criticism of this measure made by Karl Kautsky in his book, *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (London, 1919), 84.

[112] "In memory of Comrade Proshyan" (December 1918), *C.W.*, 36, pp. 497-8. This article was excluded from the fourth edition of Lenin's Works, prepared in Stalin's last years. After the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU it was included in a supplementary volume.

[113] *Decrees of Soviet Power* (in Russian), Volume 2 (Moscow, 1959), p. 538.

[114] Y. A. Sverdlov, *Selected Works* (in Russian), Volume 2 (Moscow, 1959), p. 255.

[115] The latter published a *Programme of the Party of Revolutionary Communists* (Moscow, 1919), which criticised the Marxist Communists from the traditional Narodnik standpoint. (pp. 17-21). Whilst "sharply disapproving" of various Bolshevik measures, they thought these should be fought legally within the Soviets and they repudiated the 6 July rising. (pp. 16, 24-27).

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Soviet forces—S.R. terrorists started resorting to the same methods against leading Communists as they had previously used against Tsarist officials.[116] They assassinated the Bolshevik leaders Volodarsky and Uritsky and seriously wounded Lenin. In response to the white terror developing throughout the country, the CEC on September 2nd launched a "mass red terror against the bourgeoisie and its agents."[117] Virtually all opposition papers were now closed down and rough justice meted out to thousands of enemies of the Soviet government, above all from among the old ruling classes, but also from the ranks of the S.R.s.[118]

Legalisation of Mensheviks and Right SRs

Even now a one-party system was not instituted in Soviet Russia. Both the Mensheviks, at their central committee meeting in Moscow in October 1918, and the Right S.R.s, at a national conference in Petrograd in February 1919, were forced seriously to review their policy. Taking stock of the extreme right-wing dominance that had now asserted itself among the anti-Bolshevik forces, each of them explicitly repudiated any co-operation with capitalist elements and denounced all attempts to overthrow the Soviet government by force of arms. At the same time they continued to voice many of their criticisms of the Bolsheviks.[119] The CEC quickly responded by annulling the relevant parts of its resolution of June 14th in order to readmit all Mensheviks and Right S.R.s except for those groups supporting counter-revolutionary forces against Soviet power.[120] At the same time their papers were allowed to reappear. These measures were taken without any official conditions being imposed.[121]

In the following two years of bitter civil war and famine the Soviet government's treatment of these parties was to vary according to the behaviour of their members in each prevailing situation. It is a crude oversimplification to state, as does the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, that in the civil war "the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, Anarchists . . . exposed themselves not only as accomplices, but also as active partners of the counter-revolutionaries, as counter-revolutionary parties."[122] These parties were in fact deeply divided in their attitudes and activities. Lenin's whole approach was based on a recognition of this and on his conviction that they were not a serious enemy. "Our enemy", he stressed, "is the bourgeoisie."[123]

On the one hand, Lenin explained in April 1919, the government would "grant full liberty" to "all those Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries who are really prepared to help us in our difficult

[116] Most of these acts were carried out by individual Right S.R.s and were officially repudiated by their party leadership.

[117] Quoted by E. H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution*, Volume 1 (London, 1950), pp. 167-8.

[118] See Bunyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-252; Rothstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-7; Spirin, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-7. See, also, the recognition by Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart (at that time Head of the British Mission in Russia), that in the first months of Soviet power "there was no terror. . . . The anti-Bolshevik papers continued to appear and to attack the Bolshevik policy with violent abuse . . . I mention this comparative tolerance of the Bolsheviks, because the cruelties which followed later were the result of the intensification of the civil war. For the intensification of that bloody struggle Allied intervention . . . was largely responsible." (*Memoirs of a British Agent*, London, 1946, pp. 241-2.)

[119] The Mensheviks' appeal outlining this policy was published in *Pravda* on 26 November 1918. It was that same day favourably commented on by Lenin, who said: "We must meet them half-way." (Speech to Co-operators' Meeting, *C.W.*, 28, p. 198.) Fairly long extracts from the Mensheviks' October Central Committee Theses appear in a critical *Pravda* article by Stalin, reproduced in his *Works*, Volume 4 (Moscow/London, 1953), pp. 136-148. In December 1918, a Menshevik conference specifically condemned groups of the party in the Urals, the South, Archangel and Georgia for coming out against Soviet power, as well as others that had joined the Communists. (Lenin, *C.W.*, 28, p. 471) The Right S.R.s' resolution is quoted in Carr, *op. cit.*, p. 172. Their leader, Viktor Chernov, was to explain: "For the moment . . . we were ceasing all armed struggle against the Bolsheviks, in the sense that we were removing our troops—the troops of the Constituent Assembly—from the front. But not because we had become less hostile to the Bolsheviks, but because to maintain these troops at the front would have meant making them fight for (Whiteguard General) Kolchak and for political and social restoration." (V. Chernov, *Mes Tribulations en Russie Soviétique*, Paris, 1921, pp. 22-23.) The new positions taken by the two parties are documented and discussed in Spirin, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-308.

[120] The CEC resolution in respect of the Mensheviks was passed on 30 November 1918 (*Sobranie Uzakoneniy i Rasporazheniy Rabochego i Krestyanskogo Pravitel'stva*—R.S.F.S.R.—1917-1918, No. 926, p. 1145) and that regarding the Right S.R.s on 26 February 1919. (Arthur Ransome, *Six Weeks in Russia in 1919*, Glasgow, 1919, pp. 108-110.) In January 1919 Sverdlov publicly threatened the disbanding of local organisations that were hampering the return of the Mensheviks to the Soviets. (Sverdlov, *op. cit.*, Volume 3., p. 124.)

[121] Chernov, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[122] *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (Moscow, 1960), p. 341. cf. Sobolev, *op. cit.*, p. 109, who accuses the Mensheviks, S.R.s, Bundists etc. of waging an armed struggle against Soviet power.

[123] Report of Central Committee to Eighth Party Congress (March 1919), *C.W.*, 29, p. 151.

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struggle."[124] On the other, it would "wage relentless war" on those who, despite verbal protests against the armed intervention of the allied powers, were fomenting strikes.[125] Nor would these parties be permitted to spread demoralisation in the rear by freely criticising Soviet power "in front of the weary and tormented masses,"[126] at a time when hostile armies on six fronts were driving concentrically towards Moscow.

The situation was now more critical than it had been at the time of the German offensive early in 1918, and Menshevik and S.R. papers were not allowed to last long under these circumstances. The Menshevik organ, *Vsegda Vperiod*, was closed down on February 25th 1919 for an article entitled "Stop the Civil War", a slogan undermining mobilisation against Kolchak's White Guard troops. Lenin proposed that the ban should remain "until the Mensheviks show by their action their resolve once and for all to stand for the defence and support" of Soviet power.[127]

In May 1920 members of the British Labour delegation visiting Moscow attended a meeting of the Menshevik central committee. The party had its own club and premises, as well as 40 deputies (3 per cent) in the Moscow Soviet, including Martov and Dan, and 250 in the Kharkov Soviet. British Labour leaders were able freely to meet the leaders of the Mensheviks, S.R.s and other opposition parties, who complained to them about repressions, whilst in many cases recognising the responsibility that allied intervention must bear for the bad situation. Lenin told the delegation quite frankly that "there would be no freedom either of press or speech for the enemies of the revolution—war is war, and no quarter can be given while the revolution is being attacked by its enemies from within and without."[128]

Last Years of Left SRs

A similarly differentiated attitude was shown towards the Left S.R.s as towards the other two parties. In February 1919 hundreds of their active members were arrested, including their leader Spiridonova, who had been on a tour of factory meetings denouncing the government.[129] Many others went underground to work against the Bolsheviks. From August 1919, however, meetings were held between representatives of the central committees of the Bolsheviks and Lefts S.R.s to discuss the latter's request for legality.[130] As a result of assurances that they did not favour armed struggle against the Soviet government, a small Left S.R. group, led by Steinberg, operated in Moscow in 1920-21, as a legal opposition party. They brought out their own journal, *Znamya*, published books and launched a fighting fund for a million roubles.[131]

Throughout this period Anarchist groups proliferated, though their influence in Russia was never very large. Anarchist premises had been raided in April 1918 and their occupants disarmed. All ideological Anarchists (as opposed to the various criminal elements that attached themselves to them) were quickly released and their daily paper, *Anarkhia*, started reappearing after being banned for a week.[132]

An All-Russian Anarchist Conference in December 1918 showed just how deeply divided they were among themselves on the attitudes to the Soviet government. Anarchist terrorists like those who in September 1919 threw a bomb in to a meeting of the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party were, of course, subject to the fullest rigours of repression by the Cheka. Those who did not oppose the Soviet government were free to meet and publish their propaganda legally. Some of them occupied responsible positions in Soviet institutions and the fighting forces. Those agitating against the Bolsheviks but not resorting to terror or sabotage led a semi-legal existence, subject to periodic arrests and closures of their papers.[133]

Their main strength was in the Ukraine, where uneasy relations existed between the Red Army and the peasant guerrillas under the Anarchist Makhno, who at times controlled wide areas of

(Continued on page 280)

[124] Resolution on Report on Situation (April 1919), *C.W.*, 29, p. 273. At the Seventh Congress of Soviets, in December 1919, Trotsky, as Commissar of War, was to "appreciate very highly the fact that other parties, too, parties belonging to the opposition . . . have mobilised a certain number of workers for the army. They have been received there as brothers." (Quoted by I. Deutscher, *The Prophet Armed*, London, 1954, p. 447.)

[125] *C.W.*, 29, pp. 272-3.

[126] Report on tasks of Trade Unions (April 1919), *ibid.*, p. 295.

[127] Closure of Menshevik Newspaper (February 1919), *C.W.*, 28, p. 447.

[128] *British Labour Delegation to Russia, 1920, Report* (London, n.d.), p. 56.

[129] I. N. Steinberg, *Spiridonova—Revolutionary Terrorist* (London, 1935), pp. 239-240; Spirin, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

[130] I. N. Steinberg, *In the Workshop of the Revolution*, pp. 187-193, gives extracts from the transcript of these meetings at which the Bolsheviks were represented by Kamenev, Beloborodov and Stasova.

[131] *Znamya*, Organ of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries (Internationalists). Nol 1 (3), April 1920.

[132] Lenin, Interview with *Folkets Dagblad Politiken* (July 1918), *C.W.*, 42, pp. 102, 512. P. Malkow, *Kreml-Kommandant unter Lenin* (Berlin, 1964) pp. 297-313 carries a graphic first-hand account of these raids.

[133] See Spirin, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-7; P. Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists* (Princeton, 1967), Chapter 7; V. Serge, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary* (London, 1963), pp. 119-120.

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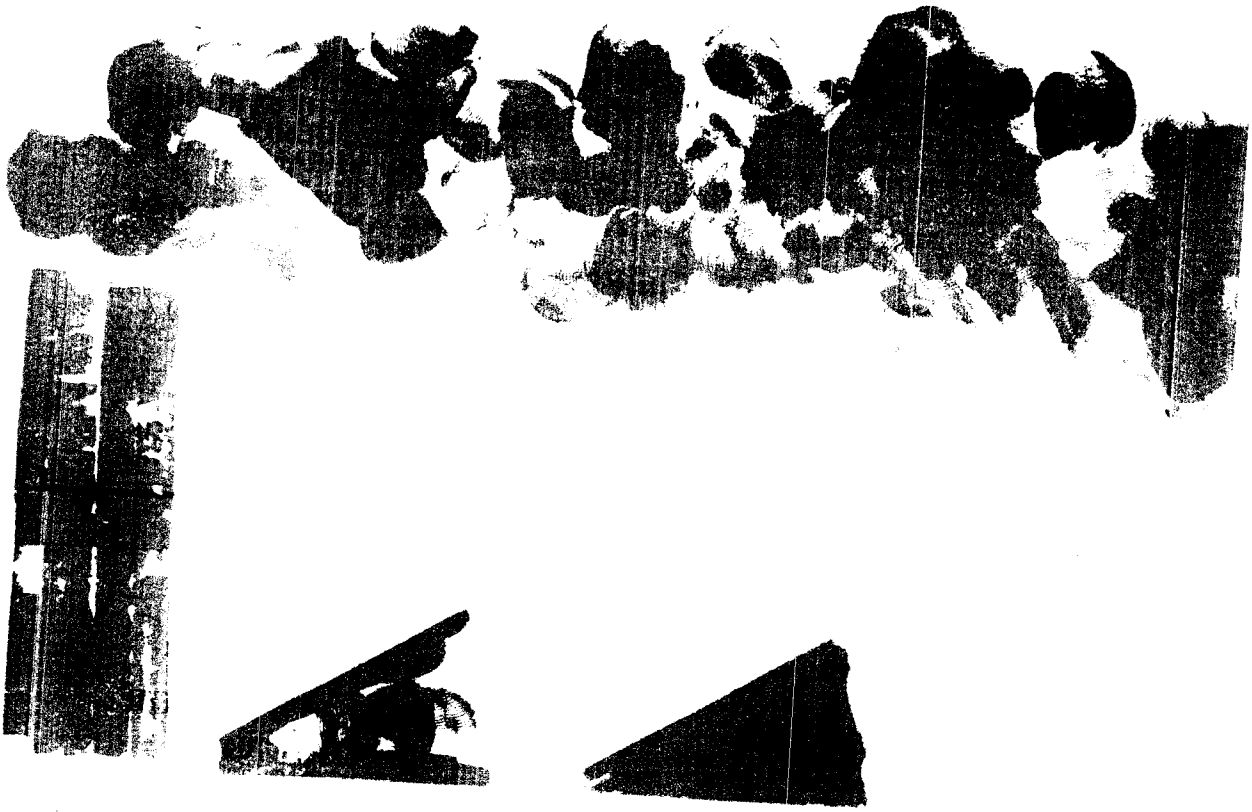

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